ITALY

AND

HER INVADERS

744—774

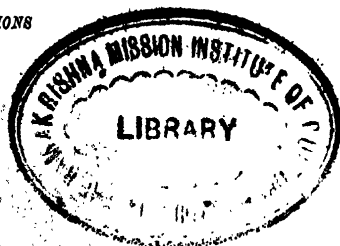
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VOLUME VII

Book VIII. FRANKISH INVASIONS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE.

THE two volumes now offered to the public complete my history of Italy and her Invaders. In accordance with the original design and the title of the work, the story of the invading nation is treated as fully as that of the invaded land, and the reader will consequently find the early chapters of the Seventh Volume almost exclusively occupied with Frankish affairs. Afterwards the narrative concerns itself with two leading events, the foundation of the temporal power of the Pope and the proclamation of Charles as Emperor of Rome.

Tedious this history must often be, since it has to be compiled, not from the vivid narration of an Ammianus or a Procopius, but from jejune chronicles and shreds of Papal correspondence, which often tell us the beginning of a story without its end. But, however unattractive may be the recital, the period is well worthy of careful study for the sake of the light which it throws on the whole history of Medieval Europe. I think my readers will find that the struggles of Guelfs and Ghibellines, and the pages of Dante's 'De Monarchiâ,' are rendered more intelligible by a study of the letters in the *Codex Carolinus*.

It might perhaps have been expected that a history of the Lombard state would take some note of the upgrowth of Lombard architecture. I have felt the fascination of the subject, but have come to the conclusion that it was one on which only an architectural

expert had any right to speak. I may say, however, that the works which I have consulted leave on my mind the impression that while the Byzantine architects exercised considerable influence especially on the buildings in the south of Italy, there was no school of Lombard architecture properly so called during the seventh and eighth centuries, and that it is not till the eleventh or at earliest the tenth century that the style which has made the Lombard name famous begins to appear. If this be true it is obvious that it has nothing to do with the period of Lombard domination and that geographical rather than historical considerations have decided its name. From this point of view it is important to remember that the whole of Italy is called 'Langobardia' by Charles the Great in his scheme for the division of his Empire.

In closing the work which has occupied my leisure for the greater part of twenty-five years, I have to thank many friends and some unknown correspondents and reviewers who have greatly aided me by their suggestions: Mr. H. A. Grueber for his valuable help in the notes on numismatics: the booksellers (of the firm of Mr. David Nutt) who have often called my attention to important German monographs dealing with my period: the Controller of the Clarendon Press and his staff of printers who have with great skill deciphered a difficult manuscript: and, most of all, the helpers in my own family who have lightened for me the labour of proof-reading and whose watchful eyes have saved me from many an error that would otherwise have disfigured my pages.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

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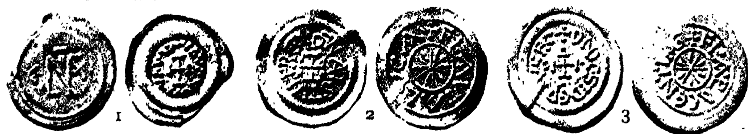
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DESCRIPTION OF COINS ON PLATE.

(See Introductory Note to the description of Coins in Vol. V.)

LOMBARD KINGS.

1. Ratchis, A. D. 744–749. Triens. *Obv.* Monogram attributed to Ratchis. *Rev.* Λ V Λ V V Λ V Λ V Λ (= Victoria Aug. ?). Cross potent. *Gold.*
2. Aistulf, A. D. 749–756. Triens. *Obv.* D.N. AISTVLF REX. Even-limbed cross potent. *Rev.* + FLAVIA LVCA (Lucca). Flower. *Gold.*
3. Desiderius, A.D. 756–774. Triens. *Obv.* + D.N. DESIDERIVS. ℞. Even-limbed cross potent. *Rev.* FLA · EACENTIA · S · *Gold.*

FRANKISH KINGS.

4. Pippin I, A. D. 751–768. Denier. *Obv.* M. PIPI across the field; above, cross; below, battle-axe. *Rev.* P. F in centre; above, straight line. *Silver.*
5. Charlemagne as king of the Franks, A. D. 768–814. Denier. *Obv.* CÆRO LVS in two lines across the field. *Rev.* SCI. MARTINI. Circle in centre. *Silver.*
6. Charlemagne as emperor, A. D. 800–814. Denier. *Obv.* CÆR LVS in two lines across the field. *Rev.* + MAGO. CS (Magonciacus civitas=Mayence) in three lines across the field. *Silver.*

PRINCES OF BENEVENTUM.

7. Arichis II, A. D. (757), 774–787. Solidus. *Obv.* + DNS. VICTORIA. Bust facing, draped, and wearing diadem. *Rev.* VICTIRA PRINPIB. Cross on steps; below, ONO.; on left, A. *Gold.*

8. Grimwald I (or III), A.D. 787–806. Solidus. *Obv.* + GRMVALD. Bust facing, &c., similar to the preceding. *Rev.* DOMS. CAR. ℞. Cross on steps; below, VIC; at sides, G R. *Gold.*

(This coin, which recognises the overlordship of Charles, belongs doubtless to the earlier years of Grimwald's reign.)

9. The same. Solidus. *Obv.* Similar to the last. *Rev.* VICTORV. PRINCIP. Cross on steps; below, C ONO B; at sides, G R. *Gold.*

(In this coin Grimwald recognises no subjection to Charles.)

10. Grimwald II (or IV), A. D. 806–817. Denarius. *Obv.* GRINOALD FILIVS ERMENRIH. Flower, with branch on either side. *Rev.* ARCHANGELVS MICHAEL. A radiate cross pattée. *Silver.*

BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

11. Constantine V. Copronymus, A. D. 740–775. Solidus. *Obv.* DNO. CONSTANTINV. Bust facing, draped, wearing diadem, and holding orb. *Rev.* VICTORI AVGTO. Cross on steps between star and R (Ravenna); below, CONOB (Constantinople). *Gold.*

12. Constantine V—Copronymus—and Leo IV, his son, A. D. 751–775. Solidus. *Obv.* CONST. LEO. P.P. Busts facing, diademed and draped; Constantine on the left holds the orb; between them, hand pointing downwards to cross. *Rev.* IVCTOR AVGVTO. Cross on steps between star and R (Ravenna); below, CONOB. *Gold.*

13. Constantine VI and Irene, A. D. 780–797. Solidus. *Obv.* CONSTANTINOS BAS. Θ. Bust of Constantine facing, diademed and draped, and holding orb and *volumen*. *Rev.* IRINH. AΓOVSTI. Bust of Irene facing, diademed, and holding orb and cross. *Gold*[1].

[1] The inscription on the reverse seems to me to be MT AΓOVSTI: quaere Mater Augusti [T. H.].

14. Nicephorus I and Stauracius, A.D. 802–811. Solidus. *Obv.* NICIFOROS BASILE. Bust of Nicephorus facing, diademed and draped, and holding cross and *volumen*. *Rev.* STAVRACIS . DESPOTE. Bust of Stauracius, similar to *obv.* type. *Gold.*
15. Michael I, A. D. 811–813. Solidus. *Obv.* + MIXAHL BASILE. Bust facing, diademed and draped, holding *labarum* and *volumen*. *Rev.* IHSVS XRISTOS. Bust of Christ facing and draped; behind head, cross. *Gold.*
16. Leo V and his son Constantine, A.D. 813–820. Solidus. *Obv.* LEON BASILEVS. Bust of Leo facing, diademed, draped, and holding cross and *volumen*. *Rev.* CONSTANT. DESPE. Bust of Constantine VII facing, diademed and draped, and holding orb and *volumen*. *Gold.*

CORRIGENDA.

P. 27, l. 8 from bottom, *for* 'Tenantius' *read* 'Tonantius.'

P. 45, l. 6 from bottom, *for* 'France' *read* 'Francia.'

P. 65, l. 5 from bottom, *for* 'Lindenborg' *read* 'Lindenbrog.'

P. 81, l. 3 from bottom, *for* 'Sichel' *read* 'Sickel.'

P. 97, marginal note (Death of Liutprand), *for* '746' *read* '744.'

P. 117, l. 15 from bottom, *for* 'entered the convent' *read* 'laid down his rank.'

P. 226, n. 1 (reference to Filiasi), *for* 'vii' *read* 'vi.'

P. 231, l. 20, *for* 'Maurienne' *read* 'Maurienna.'

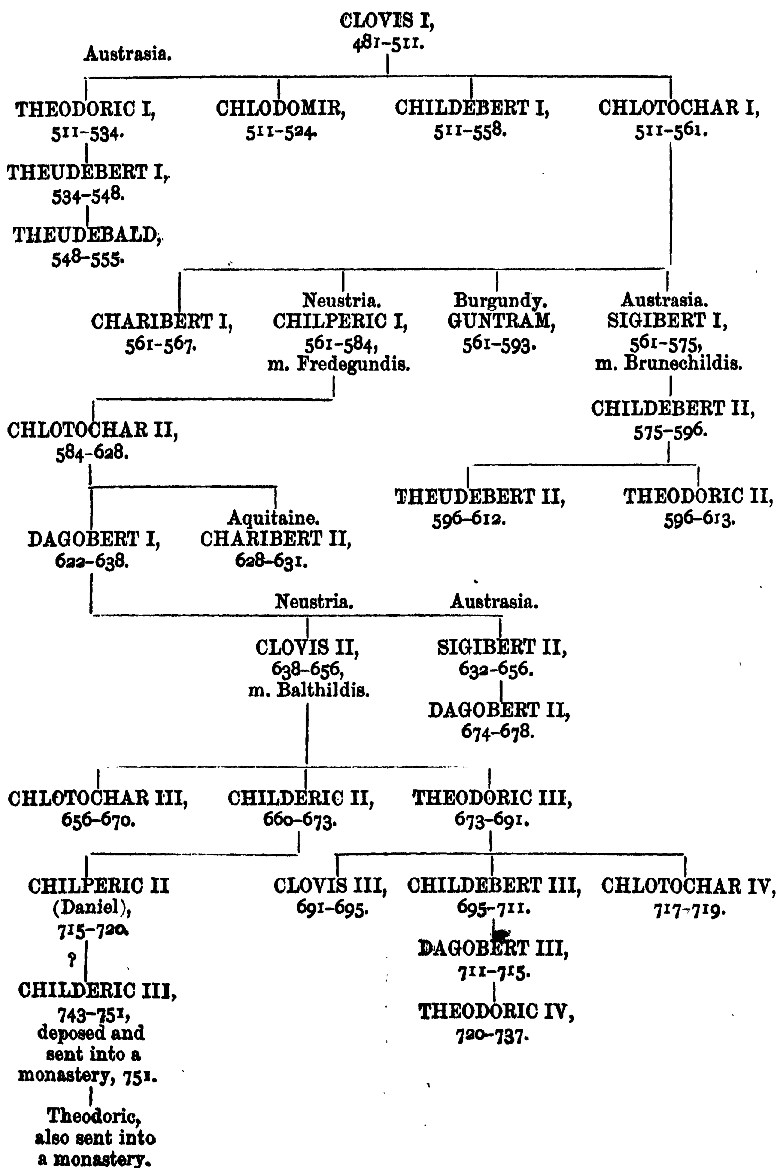
P. 288, l. 19, *for* 'Secundus' *read* 'Demetrius.'

P. 289, l. 3 from bottom, *for* 'Charles and Carloman' *read* 'Pippin.'

P. 354, l. 10, *for* 'chaplain' (sacellanus) *read* 'treasurer' (sacellarius or saccellarius).

Pp. 357 and 362. In the list of envoys between Hadrian and Desiderius the composition of the embassy which bore the Papal anathema deserves special notice. Eustratius, bishop of Albano, was one of the three bishops who consecrated the anti-pope Constantine (see p. 282). His employment on this occasion seems to show that he was considered to be thoroughly purged of that offence. Andrew, bishop of Praeneste (Palestrina), had taken a conspicuous part for the Lombards in the attack on Christopher and Sergius (p. 322). Possibly for this reason it was considered that he would be *persona grata* with Desiderius.

MEROVINGIAN KINGS.



BOOK VIII.

FRANKISH INVASIONS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION. THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS.
EARLY FRANKISH HISTORY.

Review of the state of Italy in the middle of the Eighth Century.

WE have reached a decisive point in the history of Italy and its relations to the rest of Europe. The Visigoth dealt a mortal blow to the Roman State: the Hun and the Vandal mocked its dying agonies; the Ostrogoth tried, but tried in vain, to resuscitate its life, breathing his Teutonic energy into its outworn frame; then the Lombard came, at first a ruthless barbarian, pillaging and destroying, but gradually won over to Christianity and civilisation by the unquenchable influence of the beautiful land. For nearly two centuries three powers were engaged in a struggle for supremacy in Italy: the Lombard king, the Byzantine Emperor, and the Pope of Rome. Between the last two, the relations were nominally relations of friendship and alliance, the Pope being in theory the submissive subject of the

Emperor; but there had none the less been real opposition between them, sometimes breaking out into actual strife, and since the publication of the Iconoclastic decrees (726), there had been complete estrangement, though not as yet any formal renunciation of the Imperial sovereignty on the part of the Pope.

We are now about to see the balance of power which had been thus far maintained between these three opposing interests, roughly destroyed. Under the impact of the Lombard kings the Empire will lose Ravenna and all but disappear from the Peninsula. The Popes, thus left alone face to face with their hereditary enemies, the Lombards, will in their despair look beyond the Alps for help. The Frankish kings will answer to their call, and by blow upon blow, will lay the Lombard monarchy in the dust. Italy will thus be drawn into close political union with France and Germany, and those relations will be established with the latter country, which will subsist in one shape or another down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Finally, after the conquest of Italy by the Franks, the Roman Empire will be revived in the person of the Frankish King, and Medieval Europe will come into being.

Meagre character of our materials for history.

The struggles which I have thus briefly described, and which will form the subject of the present volume, must have contained many elements of the highest human interest. The fall of Ravenna, the last fight of the Lombard nation for dominion in Italy, might each have furnished material for a noble epic poem: but unfortunately not only the 'sacred poet,' but even

the humbler historian is almost entirely wanting. We hear absolutely nothing from the Byzantines as to the details of the capture of Ravenna. Owing to the silence of Paulus Diaconus—a silence which was no doubt politic, but which his readers must always regret—we hear nothing from Lombard sources as to any of the events after the death of Liutprand. The gallant Lombard nation 'dies and makes no sign.' We have to discover the course of events as best we can from the meagre notices of Frankish chroniclers, from the verbose and never graphic letters sent forth from the Papal Chancery, from the lives of the Popes included in the *Liber Pontificalis*. This last source does give us some interesting facts, and it is that from which we shall have mainly to draw; but it is very incomplete, leaving sometimes large spaces of time wholly without record, and its passionate unfairness to all who came into collision with the Papacy greatly lessens its historical value.

In accordance with the plan pursued in the previous volumes, a detailed history of the new Invaders, the Franks, should here precede the story of their conquest. So much, however, has already been said about them in several preceding volumes, that a slight retrospective sketch of their deeds will here be sufficient.

Early history of the Frankish Confederacy.

The fierce tribes of the lower Rhine and Meuse, the Sicambri and Chatti, and probably some of their neighbours, Bructeri, Chamavi and Chasuarii, appear in the third century after Christ to have coalesced into one great confederacy, which took to itself the proud name of Franks or Free-men. This confederacy however became divided, how or why we know not, into two smaller federations, the Salians and the

Salians.

Ripuarians. The Salian Franks probably derived their name from the river Yssel, the most northerly of the branches by which the Rhine flows westward into the German Ocean. In the middle of the fifth century they held the districts which now bear the names of Belgium, Artois, and part of Picardy. The Ripuarian Franks settled on the left bank (*ripa*) of the Rhine, and occupied the pleasant vine-clad hills on the west of it between Mayence and Cologne, as well as the valley of the Moselle, from its confluence with the Rhine to its source in the mountains of the Vosges. The chief seat of their power seems to have been the Roman city, which under its modern name of Cologne still preserves the memory of Colonia Agrippina. There appears to have been a certain feeling of a common nationality, connecting, though loosely, these two great divisions of the Frankish nation; and each tribe, the Salians and the Ripuarians, was split up into many smaller fragments, obeying the sway of their own petty kings[1].

Ripuarians.

Clovis, 481–511.

One of these petty kings, or rather chieftains, Hlodwig, Ludovicus, Louis, or CLOVIS, in 481 began to bear rule over the Salian Franks at Tournai. He was then fifteen years of age, and he succeeded his father Childeric, hero of some strange Frankish *sagas*, who twenty-four years previously had succeeded his father Merovech. Merovech, from whom the line of Clovis took its well-known name of Merovings, was himself fabled to be the son of a Frankish queen,

His ancestry.

[1] The condition of the Franks thus subdivided under the sway of various *reguli*, well illustrates and to a certain extent confirms Dahn's theory of *Gau-königthum* (or as we might say, kingship of a county), as the normal condition of early Teutonic royalty.

begotten by a sea-monster or demi-god. So near still to the age of mythology was the heathen nation of the Franks when the young Clovis, himself heathen, began to lead forth its armies to battle. BK. VIII. CH. 1.

We may mark five stages in the career of this extraordinary man, who beginning life as *regulus* of a fragment of the Salian Franks, ended it as unquestioned lord of two-thirds of France and of no small part of Germany.

His victory over Syagrius, 486.

I. First came his victory over Syagrius, the Roman king (so called) of Soissons, the correspondent of Apollinaris Sidonius, the eager student of the language of his German neighbours; Syagrius, whom all his state-craft and all his linguistic accomplishments availed not to save from the conquering battle-axe of the young Merovingian[1]. This conquest took place in 486 and gave to Clovis the remainder of Picardy, the greater part of the Isle of France including Paris itself, Champagne and a considerable portion of Lorraine. A glance at the map will show what a mighty stride towards dominion over Gaul was thus made by the son of Childeric, who was still only twenty years of age. After history proved that his people felt the immense importance of this conquest. In the division of his realm among his sons and grandsons the kingdom of Syagrius was evidently always regarded as the head of the Frankish dominion[2].

Victories over Thuringians and Alamanni.

II. Secondly, came the great victories won by Clovis over the Thuringians and the Alamanni, victories which apparently were won in the years 491 and 496. The

[1] See vol. ii. pp. 358, 444 (358, 437, second edition).

[2] Three out of the four capitals of the divided kingdom, Metz, Soissons, and Paris, belong to the kingdom of Syagrius.

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Thuringians, here mentioned, are probably a detachment of the nation settled on the left bank of the Rhine[1]. The Alamanni occupied and gave their name to the region which is otherwise known as Swabia (Alsace, Baden, and Würtemberg).

Conversion to Christianity, 496.

This victory over the Alamanni, however important in itself (since it opened up to Clovis the whole country of the Upper Rhine and carried him to the sources of the Danube), was yet more important for its indirect results. The Frankish king, who had long resisted the entreaties of his wife, the Burgundian princess Clotilda[2], that he would embrace Christianity, when he saw himself in danger of being overwhelmed by the dense masses of the Alamanni, lifted up to heaven his tear-streaming eyes and said, 'O Jesus Christ, whom Clotilda affirms to be Son of the living God, and who art said to give victory to them that trust in Thee; if Thou wilt grant me the victory over these mine enemies, I will believe and be baptized in Thy name. For I have called on my own gods and had no help from them, wherefore I believe that they have no power.'

It was probably at the Christmas of 496 that Clovis stood in the white robes of a Catechumen in the Basilica of Rheims, and heard from bishop Remigius the often-quoted words, 'Mitis depone colla Sicamber: adora quod incendisti: incende quod adorasti[3].'

III. The baptism of Clovis by bishop Remigius

[1] Not the Thuringians of the Thüringer-Wald. See Waitz, Verfassungs-Geschichte, ii. 1. 59 (ed. 1882).

[2] See vol. iii. p. 359 (327, second edition).

[3] 'Meekly bow thy neck, O Sicambrian, adore what thou hast heretofore burned, and burn what thou hast adored.'

proclaimed him a champion of the Catholic faith against the Arian form of Christianity, which was at this time dominant among the Teutonic invaders of the Roman Empire. The Vandal in Africa, the Ostrogoth in Italy, the Burgundian in the valley of the Rhine, the Visigoth in Spain and Aquitaine were all upholders of that which the orthodox denounced as 'the Arian pravity.' Now that the fierce heathen, whose example was at once followed by three thousand of his followers, had become not merely Christian but a professed believer in the doctrine of the Homo-ousion, every Catholic priest, at any rate in Gaul, felt that here was one who by throwing his sword into the scale of orthodoxy might ensure its early triumph.

Conquest of Visigothic Gaul, 507.

It seemed as though the Burgundian kingdom would be the first to fall under the blows of the Frankish convert. In 500, Gundobad, the Burgundian king who reigned at Lyons, fled before the army of Clovis which came to the assistance of his traitorous brother Godegisel of Geneva. But by a sudden change in the fortune of war, Godegisel was defeated and slain, and Gundobad regained his throne. The end of Burgundian independence was not yet[1].

Seven years later, however, came the most important conquest effected by Clovis in the name of Catholic orthodoxy. Having announced to his assembled warriors that 'he took it ill that those Arians should hold so large a part of Gaul,' he crossed the Loire, met the Visigoths in battle near Poitiers, defeated them and slew their king Alaric II, and after two years of warfare succeeded in adding to his dominions the whole of the fair region of Aquitaine, while Gallia

[1] See vol. iii. pp. 386–389 (349–351, second edition).

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Narbonensis and Provence remained under the rule of Alaric's Ostrogothic kinsman, Theodoric of Italy[1].

Sole monarch of the Salian

IV. The chieftain who had thus carried far and wide over Gaul the terror of the Frankish arms, was not likely to remain a mere member of a partnership of kings in his own nation. At some time or other in his career, probably towards the beginning of his reign, he succeeded in sweeping off the board the other petty kings of the Salian Franks. Ragnachar, who reigned at Cambrai, had helped Clovis in his war against Syagrius, but when the time came for removing him he was forced into war, conquered in fight and then killed for disgracing his royal house by permitting himself to be beaten. Chararic, another Salian king, was craftily captured, shorn of his long Merovingian locks and turned into a priest. His son, who was at the same time shorn of his hair and ordained deacon, was overheard comforting his weeping father by the reflection that leaves might yet sprout forth from their lopped branches, and thereupon both father and son were put to death.

and Ripuarian Franks.

V. Lastly, Sigibert, king of the Ripuarians, who had been the ally of Clovis in his war against Alaric the Visigoth, had to be put out of the way. His son was incited to murder him and then was himself assassinated by one of the henchmen of Clovis. It is strange after reading the plain unsoftened story of the crimes by which this 'baptized Pagan' hewed his way to solitary dominion over all Frankish men, to read the following sentence in the pages of Gregory, bishop of Tours, 'Thus did God daily humble his enemies under his hand and increase his kingdom,

[1] See vol. iii. pp. 392–404 (353–365, second edition).

because he walked before Him with righteous heart and did those things which were pleasing in His sight.' Fascinated, apparently, by the very wickedness of his hero, Gregory, after describing some more royal murders, goes on to say, 'Having slain these and many other kings and their noble relations, of whom he was jealous, lest they should rob him of the kingdom, Clovis extended his sway over the whole of Gaul. However, having on a certain occasion collected his followers together, he spoke concerning his relations whom he had himself destroyed, "Woe is me, that I remain as a stranger in a strange land and have none of mine own kindred who could help me if adversity came upon me." But he said this not in real sorrow for their death, but in guile, and in order that, if he could by chance find any such surviving him, he might kill him[1].'

Thus, then ere he had passed middle life, the petty chieftain of the Salian Franks whose principality had been once almost bounded by the horizon of Tournai, had become ruler of the larger part of the lands between the Atlantic and the Rhine. In 508, after Clovis had overthrown the Visigothic kingdom in Gaul, he received from the Emperor Anastasius a letter conferring upon him the dignity of Consul[2]; and donning in the basilica of St. Martin the purple

[1] This passage from the Historia Francorum (ii. 42) reminds us of the well-known death-bed saying of the Spanish politician Narvaez, when the priest exhorted him to forgive his enemies, 'My father; that is easy, I have shot them all.'

[2] But his name is not found in any of the Consular Fasti. Junghans (Die Geschichte Childerich und Chlodovech, p. 127), relying on a passage in the prologue to the *Lex Salica*, argues that the title conferred on Clovis was really that of *Proconsul*.

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tunic and the *chlamys* of a Roman senator, rode through the streets of Tours, scattering largesse among the crowd. This letter from Anastasius was the first of a series of courtesies—ending in something quite other than courtesies—which passed between the Roman Emperors and the orthodox kings of the Franks.

Death of Clovis.

Clovis died at Paris in 511, having only attained the age of forty-five years. He was certainly a scoundrel, but he was a successful scoundrel and he had some of the qualities of a statesman. Moreover, he was the first of the long line of 'the most Christian kings of Francia.'

Division of his Kingdom.

The only conceivable palliation for any of the crimes which Clovis committed would have been the advantage of securing the unity of the Frankish state. Yet that unity was immediately impaired by the division of his dominions between his four sons. By one means or another, partly by events which happened in the course of nature and partly by fratricidal crimes, the monarchy thus divided became one again under Chlotochar I, the last survivor of the sons of Clovis; but it remained united for only three years, and was then again divided among his four sons[1], not to be reunited till the year 613, under Chlotochar II, great grandson of Clovis. Thus, throughout the whole of the sixth century we may think of 'Francia' as generally divided into four parts, which corresponded in the main with the four great natural divisions of the realm, Austrasia, Neustria, Aquitaine, and Burgundy.

Austrasia.

Austrasia (otherwise called Auster, or Austria)

[1] See vol. v. pp. 200–204, for description of this second partition.

seems to have included all the lands which had belonged to the Ripuarian Franks, together with those conquered from the Thuringians, and with those wherein the Bavarians and Alamanni had been made subject to Frankish rule. But it must also have included at least the Eastern half of the old 'kingdom' of Syagrius, since the countries which were afterwards called Champagne and Lorraine formed part of the Austrasian kingdom.

Neustria.

As Austrasia was the land of the Ripuarians, so *Neustria* seems to have been specially identified with the territory of the Salian Franks, and hence it had what appears on the map as a curious prolongation north-eastward to the river Scheldt, and in fact must have included at least half of the modern kingdom of Belgium. All western France, north of the Loire, belonged theoretically to the Neustrian kingdom, though the sovereignty which its rulers were able to assert over the restless Bretons of Armorica was a perpetually changing quantity.

Aquitaine.

Aquitaine was the former kingdom of the Visigoths in Gaul, and it had its well-marked boundaries in the great river Loire and the mountains of the Cevennes. The Roman influence, strong in Neustria, was yet stronger here, and it may be doubted how far it was ever bound except by bonds of fear and compulsion to the Frankish monarchy.

Burgundy.

Burgundy, which included the valleys of the Rhine and the Saone, and which reached up to the western slopes of the Alps, was, as we have seen, still unconquered at the death of Clovis. Its annexation to the Frankish state was the work of his sons, one of whom fell in battle in the second campaign. The story of the

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conquest (523–534) has been told with some detail in a previous volume, on account of its connection with the family history of Theodoric whose daughter was married to Sigismund, king of Burgundy[1].

The Franks in Italy, 536-558.

The connection of the Franks with the history of Italy, during the period of this first partition of the Frankish kingdom, brought little glory to the descendants of Clovis, but much disaster to the Italian peninsula. When Belisarius began his brilliant enterprise for the recovery of Italy, the Frankish kings seized the opportunity to threaten the Ostrogothic possessions in Gaul. They were quieted for the time by the surrender of those possessions (consisting of Provence and part of Dauphiné), which were ceded to them by Witigis in 536. But three years later, Theudebert, king of Austrasia, a grandson of Clovis, crossed the Alps, and his savage warriors poured like a torrent over Northern Italy. They made war alike upon the Goths and the soldiers of the Empire: they sacked cities and ravaged vineyards, till at last disease, the result of their own brutal excesses, and a threatening message from the indignant Belisarius, caused them to return to their own land.

When Totila raised again the standard of Gothic independence, the Franks, whose manifest policy it was to fish in troubled waters, again intervened in Italy; and owing to the reluctance of both parties to engage with another antagonist, succeeded in making the greater part of the three northern provinces (Liguria, Alpes Cottiae, and Venetia)[2],

[1] See vol. iii. pp. 294, 415, 592 (265, 373, 533, second edition).

[2] The chief if not the only information which we possess as to this Frankish occupation of Northern Italy is given us by

subject to tribute. All Italy north of the Po, and both slopes of the Maritime Alps, except some sea-port towns which were held by the Empire, and a few scattered fortresses still garrisoned by the Goths, were thus added to the Frankish dominion.

This state of things probably lasted for about ten years. When the powerful and aspiring Theudebert was succeeded by his son, the sickly Theudebald, the reins of sovereignty were relaxed, and hence it came 548.

Procopius, who says (De Bello Gotthico, iii. 33): Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Γότθων τε καὶ Τωτίλα καθυπέρτερα τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένετο, Φράγγοι Βενετίων τὰ πλεῖστα σφίσι προσεποιήσαντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, οὔτε Ῥωμαίων δυναμένων ἔτι ἀμύνεσθαι οὔτε Γότθων οἵων τε ὄντων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἑκατέρους διενεγκεῖν. 'But when the Goths under Totila began to get the upper hand in the war [against the Empire], the Franks acquired the greater part of Venetia without any trouble, since the Romans were no longer able to defend themselves, nor were the Goths able to wage war against two enemies at once.' And again (Ibid. iv. 24), describing the death of Theudebert, king of Austrasia (548): Θευδίβερτος δέ, ὁ Φράγγων ἀρχηγός, οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο νόσῳ, Λιγουρίας τε χωρία ἄττα καὶ Ἄλπεις Κοττίας καὶ Βενετιῶν τὰ πολλὰ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου ὑποτελῆ ποιησάμενος. Τὴν γὰρ ἀσχολίαν τῶν μαχομένων οἰκείαν οἱ Φράγγοι εὐκαιρίαν πεποιημένοι τοῖς ἐκείνων περιμαχήτοις αὐτοὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐπλουτοῦν. Καὶ Γότθοις μὲν πολίσματα ὀλίγα ἐν Βενετίαις διέμεινε, τὰ δὲ ἐπιθαλασσίδια χωρία Ῥωμαίοις. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὑποχείρια σφίσιν ἅπαντα πεποίηντο Φράγγοι. 'But Theudebert, leader of the Franks, had not long before died of disease, after making certain districts of Liguria, and the Alpes Cottiae, and most of Venetia subject to tribute. And this he did without any right; for the Franks, making the extremity of the combatants their own opportunity, enriched themselves without any danger with the prizes for which they were contending. Thus to the Goths there remained a few towns in Venetia, and the seaside places to the Romans, and all the rest the Franks had made subject to them.' Procopius then goes on to say that the Goths and Franks had come to an agreement to act on the principle of *uti possidetis* till Totila's war with the Empire should be over, and then if Justinian were beaten they would make such arrangements as might seem to be for their mutual advantage.

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to pass that the Alamannic brethren, Leuthar and Butilin, were allowed to make their objectless and ill-managed raid into Italy. The utter failure of this expedition (554) doubtless weakened the hold of the Franks on the valley of the Po, and three years afterwards we learn that under the rule of Narses the Empire recovered all that portion of Italy which Theudebert had once held[1].

It was, however, probably in consequence of this temporary possession of Northern Italy, that the Franks held so much of the northern half of Raetia as we find them to have possessed a few years later on, when they came into collision with the Lombards.

Lombard invasions of Gaul.

In 558, a year after the Empire had reconquered the territory north of the Po, Chlotochar I (as has been already said) became, by the death of his last surviving brother, sole monarch of the Franks. Three years afterwards he died, and his kingdom was divided between his four sons, whose number was reduced to three in the year 567 by the death of Charibert, king of Paris. And now we are upon the threshold of the Lombard invasion of Italy which, as the reader may remember, occurred in the year 568. Thenceforward, for nearly two hundred years, the Frankish kings had a Lombard state touching them as their south-eastern frontier, and the intervening Alps did not prevent the two powers from meeting, sometimes in friendship but more often with the clash of battle. In the first eight years of their sojourn in Italy (568–

[1] Marius the Chronicler, S. A. 556 (=557), says: 'Eo anno exercitus Reipublicae resumptis viribus partem Italiae quam Theudebertus rex adquisierat occupavit.'

575), the Lombards made five invasions of Frankish territory. These invasions, which harried the districts of Dauphiné and Provence, were conducted without military skill or generalship, and were without much difficulty repelled by the soldiers of Guntram, the Frankish king of Burgundy. This senseless and wanton warfare had one permanent effect, which proved eventually disastrous for the Lombard state, since it left the valleys of Aosta and Susa, on the Italian side of the Alps, in the possession of the Franks [1].

Frankish invasions of Italy, 576–590.

The return visits of the Franks to Italy under Chramnichis, about 576, and under Childebert between 584 and 590, were like those of the Lombards, ravaging and plundering expeditions, effectual doubtless for the devastation of the country, but powerless for its conquest [2]. A noticeable fact about the later invasions of Childebert is that they were undertaken at the suggestion of the Byzantine Court and to some extent in co-operation with the Byzantine armies, the lever which the Imperial Court used with the king of Austrasia being the presence at Constantinople of the unfortunate child Athanagild, the son of Childebert's sister, Ingunthis. This conjunction of Imperial and Frankish power might, had it been often repeated, have proved disastrous for the Lombard state: but, partly owing to ill-planned combinations, it effected nothing of importance in 590 (when Maurice was Emperor and Childebert Frankish king), nor was it repeated at any later time. At the close of the sixth century, Agilulf, king of the Lombards, concluded

Peace between Franks and Lombards.

[1] See vol. v. pp. 215–227.

[2] See vols. v. pp. 227–228, 258, 267–271; vi. pp. 27–33.

BK. VIII. CH. 1. 'a perpetual peace' with the Franks[1], both Italy and Germany being then menaced by the invasions of the barbarous Avars; and this peace, probably owing to the increasing impotence of the Merovingian kings, actually endured for a century and a half. We must however except one trifling interruption soon after the accession of Grimwald (662), when a Frankish army (perhaps espousing the cause of the banished Perctarit) entered Italy from Provence, but was easily defeated by the Lombard king near Asti in Piedmont[2].

Alliance against the Wends, 630,

The peace thus long maintained between the once hostile nations was not only peace but sometimes alliance. Thus in the year 630, when Dagobert the Frank, through the insolence of his ambassadors, had become involved in a war with Samo, a Frankish merchant who had cunningly raised himself to the position of king of the Wends or Sclaves on Dagobert's eastern frontier, the Lombards sent soldiers to the assistance of the Franks. These auxiliaries together with the Alamanni, were victorious, and carried off a multitude of captives, while Dagobert himself appears to have suffered a disastrous defeat[3].

and against the Saracens, 737 (?).

And again, when Charles Martel (about 737) was somewhat hardly pressed by a Saracen invasion of Provence, he called on his brother-in-law, Liutprand,

[1] Vol. v. p. 423. [2] Vol. vi. p. 252.

[3] This event, if it happened at all, must have happened under the reign of Ariwald, which is a blank in the pages of Paulus Diaconus (see vol. vi. p. 161). The authority for it is 'Fredegarius,' iv. 68, who attributes the defeat of Dagobert to the dissatisfaction of the Austrasian nobles with his oppressive rule. It should be stated that Zeuss (Die Deutschen &c., p. 637) proposes to substitute 'Bavarians' for 'Lombards' in this passage: only, however, on *a priori* grounds.

for help, and called not in vain. Liutprand led a great army across the Maritime Alps, and at his approach the Saracens fled in terror.

During this century and a half of peace between the Franks and Italy, Merovingian royalty had been sinking ever lower and lower into mere fatuity and impotence, while the power of one great Austrasian house, which furnished a succession of hereditary Prime Ministers to the State, had been almost as steadily rising.

The Fainéant Merovingians, 638–751.

As to the Merovingians, the lifelong duel between the two queens, Fredegundis and Brunichildis, the vices of Chilperic of Neustria, 'the Nero and Herod of his time' (the husband of Fredegundis), and the fierce energy of Theodoric II, king of Burgundy (grandson of Brunichildis), shed a sort of lurid light over the royalty of the descendants of Clovis at the close of the sixth century. Chlotochar II, king of Neustria, son of Fredegundis, succeeded in uniting all the Frankish kingdoms under his own sceptre (613), and annihilated the rival Austrasian line[1]. He and his son, Dagobert I, showed some energy and power of rule, but after Dagobert's death (638) the royal line became utterly effete, and for a hundred years, kings rightly named Do-nothings (Fainéants) nominally reigned over Gaul and Germany. The short lives of these kings sufficiently indicate the decay of their vital powers, caused by their vicious habits. The following are the ages at which the kings died who reigned between Dagobert I and the last of his line, Childeric III: twenty-six, twenty-four, twenty-seven, eighteen, twenty, thirty-eight, seventeen, fifty (but this king only reigned five years, and had the advantage of spending most of

[1] See vol. v. pp. 204–214; vol. vi. pp. 108–109, 130.

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his life (in exile), thirty-six, twenty-four, and twenty-one.

The manner of life of these hapless inheritors of dignity divorced from duty is described for us by Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, in a passage which has been often quoted, and which, though modern criticism finds in it somewhat to object to on the score of strict accuracy, may be quoted once again.

Einhard's picture of the Merovingian kings.

'The Merovingian race, from which the Franks were wont to choose their kings, is considered to have lasted down to king Childeric, who by order of Stephen[1] the Roman pontiff was deposed and tonsured and thrust into a monastery. But though it may seem to have ended in him, it had for a long while possessed no real vigour, nor had had anything to show for itself except the empty title of king: for all the wealth and power of the kingdom were centred in the Prefects of the Palace, who were called *Majores Domus*, and to whom supremacy in the State belonged. For nothing else was left to the king except this, that satisfied with the mere royal name, with his long locks and flowing beard, he sat upon the throne and played at sovereignty, receiving the ambassadors who came to him from all quarters, and repeating to them on their departure the replies which he had been taught or ordered to deliver, as though they came from his own decision. Thus, except the useless name of king and a precarious allowance which the Prefect of the Palace afforded him as he thought fit, he possessed nothing else of his own, save one estate (*villa*) with a very poor revenue, on which he had his house, and out of which he kept the slender train of servants

[1] Strictly of Zacharias.

who performed the necessary services for him and gave him a show of obedience. When he must needs go on a journey, he went in a wagon, which was drawn by yoked oxen with a rustic cowherd driving them. Thus he went to his palace, thus to the public assembly of the people, which was held once a year to deliberate on the affairs of the realm, and thus was he wont to return to his home. As for the administration of the kingdom and all those things which had to be done or arranged for at home or abroad, they were all provided for by the Prefect of the Palace.'

This picture may be slightly over-coloured. It is possible that some of the details, such as the oxen drawing the rude royal chariot, may really be due only to the inherent conservatism of the Teutonic race, which preserved in the king's household at Soissons or Paris archaic usages derived from bygone centuries when the king dwelt in a rustic hut on a forest-clearing in the heart of Germany. But the broad outline of the picture is undoubtedly correct. The Merovingian kings in the fifth generation from Clovis had sunk into mere ciphers. Intent on drinking their cup of muddy pleasure to the dregs, they left all the hard work of life, and all the duties of royalty, in war, in judgment, in finance, to the servants who clustered about the Court; and of these servants one, foremost in rank and position, gathered up the reins of government as they fell from the nerveless hands of the Merovingians, and became king in fact, while they for a hundred years remained kings in name. This all-powerful servant was the Mayor of the Palace, and when his power was once firmly established, it was too late for the descendants of Clovis, even had a man

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of energy and virtue arisen among them, to recover the lost dominion.

Office of Mayor of the Palace.

The institution of Mayor of the Palace was not peculiar to the Frankish nation. Traces of it may be found among the Ostrogoths, Burgundians, Lombards, perhaps even among the Vandals[1], but nowhere else had it the same great development which it attained in the Frankish people. That some such official should emerge out of chaos, that many of the powers of the State should crystallise round him, was however inherent in the nature of things. Clovis and his sons, men of ruthless will and barbarous energy, had formed a State whose corner-stone was military conquest. Apparently the old liberties, the ancient germs of self-government, which had existed among the Franks as in nearly all the Teutonic peoples, had been crushed out under the centralising sway of these barbarian kings, flattered and caressed as they had been by the Catholic ecclesiastics of Gaul. The old tribal nobility of the Salians and Ripuarians had probably also disappeared, and had been replaced by a new order of nobility who drew all their splendour from the royal majesty in whose rays they basked[2]. The Palace had become the State, and he who was great in the king's household was great in the Frankish realm.

The inevitable limitation of autocracy comes from the love of ease. After all, government means work, and though for a few generations men may be found so lustful of power that they will 'spurn delights and

[1] See the passages collected in Waitz, Verfassungs-Geschichte, ii. 2. 84.

[2] In the language of German historians, the *Volksadel* had been replaced by a *Dienstadel*.

live laborious days,' in order to rule with uncontrolled power over a mighty empire, in the course of time this tremendous energy wears itself out. Some member of the royal family comes to the throne who finds that 'slumber is more sweet than toil,' and that power is not worth having at the price of an utter sacrifice of all the restful pleasures of life. He hands over the reins of government to some obsequious servant who is only too glad to take them from him and to govern in the king's name. The Merovingian has found his Mayor of the Palace, the Bourbon king his Richelieu or his Alberoni, the Mikado of Japan his Taicoon.

The Mayor as Bailiff.

It is possible that at first the duties of the Mayor of the Palace were strictly those of a master of the household. Merovingian royalty owned vast domains, cultivated for the most part by slave labour. The king and his great train of courtiers went in progress from one villa, or big estate, to another, consuming the produce of each villa in succession, and then moving on to that which was nearest. The mere superintendence of the receipts and expenditure of one of these great domains was in itself a considerable business, and may at first have been the chief concernment of the Mayor of the Palace, for in his humbler days it is possible that there may have been one *Major Domus* to every residence of a Frankish king [1]. In the course of time, however—and by this I mean within a century from the death of Clovis—the Mayor had become such an important person that there was only one of his class in each of the four kingdoms, into which the Frankish monarchy generally fell apart, one for

[1] So Waitz, Verfassungs-Geschichte, ii. 2. 87.

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Austrasia, one for Neustria, one for Burgundy, one (perhaps) for Aquitaine.

As Chief Minister of Finance.

And what were the duties of the Mayor of the Palace when he had thus emerged from the condition of a head-servant into that of a great official of the State? Perhaps we may say that still his chief functions were financial. Like the *Comes Rerum Privatarum* of the later empire, it was his business to administer the revenues, not now of one villa or palace, but of all the royal domains within the limits of his master's kingdom. A most important part of his functions in this capacity was that of confirming alienations of the royal domain. Throughout the seventh century, as we have reason to believe, the new landed aristocracy which was forming itself was getting grants of *beneficia* either from the Church or the Crown; and a weak Merovingian king was under great temptation to strengthen his party by lavish grants of the Crown lands to importunate and blustering petitioners. Just at this point, therefore, the control exercised by the Mayor of the Palace would have an important effect on the fortunes of the aristocracy, since it was in his power to forbid all grants of *beneficia* to his foes and to encourage similar grants to his friends.

He had, moreover, such power over the collection of the taxes (however rude and undeveloped the Merovingian system of taxation may have been) as gave him great opportunities for enriching himself while professing to serve the royal exchequer. Thus it was matter of bitter complaint against Protadius, Mayor of the Palace of Burgundy under Theodoric (grandson of Brunichildis), that though a man of great ability and energy, he committed grievous injustice

against individuals, straining the rights of the royal fisc, ingeniously striving to fill the royal treasury at the expense of private persons and at the same time to enrich himself[1]. The general attitude which the Mayor of the Palace at first assumed, especially in Neustria, was that of championship of the rights of the Crown against the aristocracy, though in the end he became strong enough to set Crown and aristocracy alike at defiance.

As Commander of the Army.

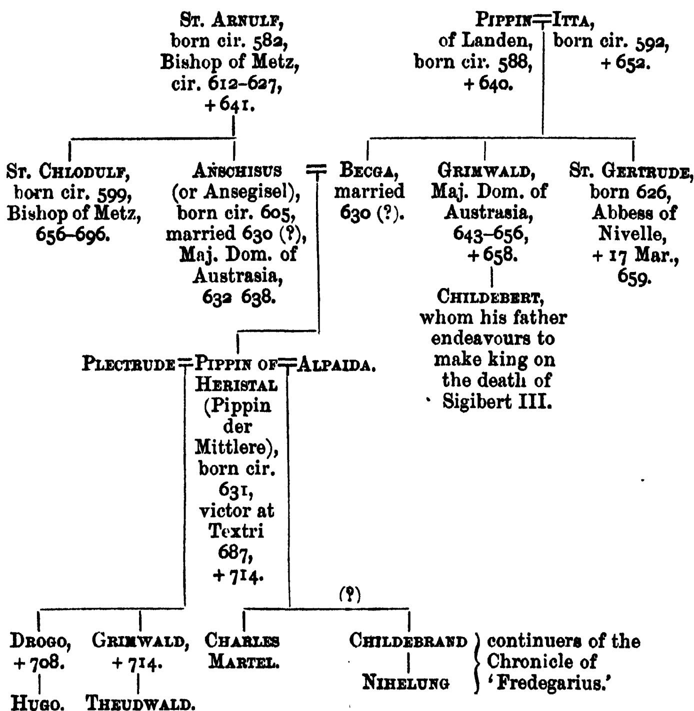
Lastly, in addition to the powers of administration and finance which the Mayor of the Palace exercised, he must have eventually gathered into his hands the supreme command of the nation-army of the Franks, though apparently we have but little information of the steps by which a Grand Chamberlain was thus transformed into a Commander-in-Chief.

After this brief sketch of the general character of the office of *Major Domus*, let us trace the fortunes of that Austrasian family which more than all others made it illustrious.

[1] Fredegarius, iv. 27.

NOTE. In this introductory chapter, and in fact throughout the whole of this volume, I am constantly indebted to *Waitz's* 'Verfassungs-Geschichte' and *Dahn's* 'Urgeschichte der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker.' Having made this acknowledgement here, I shall not repeat it in my list of 'Guides' at the head of each chapter.

EARLY ARNULFINGS.



CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY ARNULFINGS.

Sources:—

The Chronicle of the so-called FREDEGARIUS, a Burgundian scribe, reaching to the year 641, and composed about 660 (see vol. vi. p. 149).

GESTA FRANCORUM: otherwise called LIBER HISTORIAE FRANCORUM, the work of an anonymous author, composed in very barbarous Latin, and commenced in the year 725. For the events near the author's own times, this source, though very scanty, and with no literary excellence, is sometimes valuable. The Continuer of Fredegarius borrowed largely from it. It gives generally the Neustrian rather than the Austrasian view of things, and takes more account of Merovingian kings than of Arnulfing Mayors of the Palace.

Quite opposite in character are the ANNALES METTENSES, a compilation of a much later age, which is almost entirely devoted to the glorification of the Carolingian race. It is undoubted that this work in its present form belongs at earliest to the end of the tenth century, since the author quotes the Saxon history of Widukind, written about 967. There are, however, some indications of its having been composed at various dates: and in particular there is a certain fulness of detail about the life of Pippin of Heristal, which suggests the conjecture that possibly the author may have had before him some valuable contemporary authority which has since disappeared. Even here, however, the compiler has given free play to a lively imagination, as for instance when he puts into the mouth of Pippin, before the battle of Textri, a long oration modelled on the harangues reported by Caesar and Livy.

On the whole, though we cannot afford entirely to disregard

BK. VIII. CH. 2. the *Annales Mettenses*, we must regard with great suspicion any statement of facts which rests on their authority alone.

There is a very elaborate excursus on the *Annales Mettenses* in Bonnell's 'Anfänge' (pp. 157–181). The writer comes to the conclusion that not Metz but Laon was the birthplace of these Annals, and that they were probably written by some adherent of Charles of Lorraine, the unsuccessful Carolingian rival of Hugh Capet.

For the life of Arnulf:—

GESTA EPISCOPORUM METTENSIUM by Paulus Diaconus.

VITA ARNULFI, probably by a contemporary, but unfortunately so much taken up with the religious side of the saint's character and history that we get comparatively little information from it as to his political career. A later life, composed apparently in the early part of the tenth century, gives us more historical facts, but is of slender authority.

Guides:—

Bonnell: Die Anfänge des Karolingischen Hauses (Berlin, 1866) is a very learned though not very lucid work, and is the first of the valuable series of *Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte* (published by the Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Bavaria), to which I find myself under continual obligation. These *Jahrbücher* perform for early Carolingian history the same office which Tillemont has performed for the Roman Empire.

First appearance of the Arnulfings, 613.

THE first appearance of the ancestors of Charles the Great on the stage of history is in the year 613, when the long duel between the houses of Sigibert and Chilperic, kings respectively of Austrasia and Neustria, and husbands of Brunichildis and Fredegundis, was brought to a close[1]. As has been said, Chlotochar II, son of Chilperic and Fredegundis, invaded Austrasia, then under the nominal rule of the infant Sigibert, really governed by his great grandmother, the once beautiful, always ambitious, and now vindictive Brunichildis. We are told that it was at the instigation of Arnulf and

[1] See vol. vi. pp. 109 and 130.

Pippin and the other nobles of Austrasia that this invasion was made [1]. Partly by the help of those men, and partly by the devices of the *Major domus* Warnachar (who discovered that Brunichildis was plotting against him and turned conspirator to save his life), Chlotochar's invasion was crowned with complete success. The whole Frankish realm was reunited under the sceptre of the Neustrian king, and the son of Fredegundis doomed his mother's rival to a cruel and shameful death.

Who, then, were these two men who at a critical moment led the Austrasian aristocracy to victory in their lifelong struggle against the domineering but statesmanlike Brunichildis?

Arnulf, Archbishop of Metz.

Arnulf, Archbishop of Metz, was sprung from a noble family among the Ripuarian Franks. More than this cannot be stated concerning his ancestry, though the imaginative zeal of later genealogists invented for him a pedigree adorned with the names of kings, saints, and senators [2]. He seems to have been born about

[1] 'Chlotharius factione Arnulfo et Pippino vel citeris (*sic*) procerebus (*sic*) Auster ingreditur.' Fredegarius, iv. 40.

[2] It is not worth while to go more fully into the thoroughly discredited 'Domus Carolingicae genealogia' which is published in the Monumenta of Pertz (Scriptores), ii. p. 308 n. This pedigree makes Arnulf son of Arnoald, who is son of Ansbert and Blithild, the latter a daughter of Chlotochar I. The name of Feriolus, brother of Arnoald, is probably meant to imply a connection with the senatorial family of Tenantius Ferreolus, the friend of Sidonius (see vol. ii. pp. 318 and 473). Firminus, Deotarius, Modericus (Munderic), and other names of Aquitanian ecclesiastics and saints, are freely interspersed in the genealogy, and by these Bonnell is led to the conclusion that it was probably invented in Aquitaine, about the beginning of the ninth century, by some ecclesiastical courtier of the young king Louis the Pious, anxious to recommend his master to the affections of

BK. VIII. CH. 2. 582, and to have come as a young and clever lad to the Austrasian Court when Theudebert was reigning there after the expulsion of his grandmother Brunichildis (599). He rose into high favour with Gundulf, the Austrasian Mayor of the Palace, showed himself an efficient servant of the Crown, both in peace and war, and was promoted, we are told, to the presidency over six 'provinces' which were usually assigned to as many governors. He married a noble lady, who bore him two sons, Anschisus[1] and Chlodulf, and he formed what proved to be a lifelong friendship with another officer of the Court named Romaric. The talk of the two friends turned often on religious subjects, and they not unfrequently discussed a plan for renouncing the world, retiring to some convent, and there

his patriotic Aquitanian subjects. The imaginary link with the old Merovingian line would be supposed in some sort to justify the usurpation of the king's grandfather Pippin. After all, the really important fact, though a negative one, is that Paulus Diaconus, the friend and courtier of Charles the Great, writing his book on the succession of the bishops of Metz, distinctly in the Carolingian interest, can only say of St. Arnulf that he was 'splendore generis clarus' and 'ex nobilissimo fortissimoque Francorum stemmate ortus'; words which might have been used of any well-born Frankish warrior. This silence of his is the more marked because he has just mentioned Bishop Agiulf, 'qui fertur, patre ex nobili senatorum familia orto, ex Chlodovei regis Francorum filia procreatus.' If Paulus could have said anything like this of the ancestors of his patron he would certainly not have withheld it. The fact is manifest that Charles the Great did not know the names of his ancestors beyond the fifth generation: not at all a surprising fact in an unlettered age and in a family which had not then reached the royal rank.

[1] Or Ansegisus or Ansegisel. Paulus, according to the literary fashion of his time, traces in this name a remembrance of Anchises, the father of Aeneas, and makes it an argument for the descent of the Franks from the Trojans.

continuing their friendly dialogues till death should sever them. BK. VIII. CH. 2.

It was during this period of immersion in worldly affairs, while his heart longed for the cloister, that the following incident is said to have happened. He was walking one day over the bridge at Metz, penitent for his sins and doubtful whether his repentance was accepted in the sight of God. Looking down into the deep currents of the Moselle, the bottom of which his eye failed to reach, he drew off the ring from his finger and cast it into the depths of the river. 'Then,' said he to himself, 'when I shall receive again this ring which I now cast away, shall I feel sure that I am loosed from the bonds of mine iniquities.' Years after, when he was sitting on the episcopal throne of Metz, a fish was brought to the palace and prepared for the evening meal. In the fish's intestines the cook found the well-known ring and brought it to his master, who received with joy this token of the Divine forgiveness, but felt himself bound thereby to a life of even greater austerity than aforetime.

This anecdote was related by the great Emperor Charles, Arnulf's descendant in the fifth generation, to his friend and secretary Einhard. It of course recalls to our mind the well-known story of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, but the moral of the two stories is quite dissimilar, and it may be doubted whether Einhard, and much more whether his master, had ever scanned the pages of Herodotus.

The holy conversations with Romaric continued, and the two friends were about to execute their purpose of retiring from the world. Arnulf's pious eagerness to divide his property among the poor was acquiesced

in by his elder son Anschisus, but opposed by Chlodulf. Divine Providence, so it was held by later generations, rewarded each brother according to his works. Chlodulf, with his heart set on wealth, reached no higher dignity than that of Archbishop of Metz, and dying left no seed, while Anschisus became virtually chief ruler of Austrasia and was the progenitor of kings and emperors.

When the two friends were at last on the point of retiring into the wilderness, the Archbishop of Metz died, and the citizens with one voice demanded that Arnulf, 'domestic and counsellor of the king,' should be ordained in his stead. There was the usual resistance on Arnulf's part, followed by his compulsory assumption of the dignity: and this elevation appears to have taken place about Christmas, 611, very shortly before the overthrow of Theudebert.

Though practising the usual austerities of a medieval saint, fasting for three days at a time, living on barley-bread and water, wearing a hair-shirt and working miracles, Arnulf did not lay down the office, whatever it was, which he held in the Austrasian Court[1]. And in his guidance of the affairs of the kingdom he was powerfully aided by his friend Pippin, who is usually known as Pippin of Landen[2], and who was an Au-

Pippin of Landen.

[1] 'Nec tamen primatum,' says St. Arnulf's biographer, 'quem in palatio gerebat, deserere permissus est.' This looks as though Arnulf was at this time actual Major Domus of Austrasia.

[2] Bonnell (pp. 49-85) combats at great length the surnames of 'Landen' and of 'Heristal,' usually given to the first and second Pippin. His chief point is that both these places are in Brabant, on the left bank of the Meuse, and that the cradle of the race of Pippin is to be sought on the right bank of that river, and between it and the Moselle, in the provinces which have since borne the names of Louvain, Namur, and Luxemburg. He

strasian nobleman with large possessions between the Meuse and the Moselle. BK. VIII. CH. 2.

Between them these two statesmen succeeded in foiling the designs of Brunichildis to become regent of Austrasia after the death of her two grandsons Theudebert and Theodoric, and as we have seen, by their timely defection, they won a bloodless victory for Chlotochar II, who thus became sole monarch of the Frankish kingdom (613).

Advisers of Dagobert I in Austrasia.

But the Austrasian spirit of independence required a separate ruler, and accordingly in 622 Chlotochar delegated the sovereignty of Austrasia to his son Dagobert, a young man of about twenty years of age. Arnulf and Pippin were recognised as the chief advisers of the young king, and the latter nobleman probably held the office of Mayor of the Palace. On the testimony of historians who were their contemporaries, and who had therefore no especial reason for flattering the ancestors of Charlemagne[1], Dagobert's Austrasian sovereignty under the guidance of these two men was

certainly produces a large number of grants to monasteries in that region made by the early Carolingians, and he is entitled to lay stress on the late date at which the surnames of Landen and of Heristal appear in history. But though he may have thrown a certain amount of suspicion on the familiar surnames, his argument so far as I understand it (for it is not very lucidly stated), seems to me to stop a long way short of proof. Especially I am struck by the frequency with which Heristal is mentioned as the place where Charles the Great held his Court between 769 and 783, before he had taken up with Aachen. So long as the surnames of Landen and of Heristal are not absolutely disproved, I prefer to use them rather than the numbers, first, second, third, which suggest incorrectly the idea of regal succession. The modern German usage, 'Pippin der Alte, der Mittlere' and 'der Junge,' seems to me very awkward.

[1] Especially the so-called Fredegarius who wrote about 660.

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a time of wise and firm government. A certain Chrodoald, descended from the dukes of Bavaria, who like some turbulent baron of the Middle Ages was trampling on the rights of the lowly and setting himself against the administrators of the law, was by their advice condemned to death, and this sentence was carried into effect, notwithstanding the attempted mediation of Chlotochar on his behalf. This execution of Chrodoald perhaps brought to a head the discord between father and son. Dagobert had not received the kingdom of Austrasia in its fulness, but had been limited to the regions eastward of the Ardennes and the Vosges mountains[1]. This limitation rankled in his mind and in that of his subjects and would perhaps have led to civil war, but the matter was referred to the arbitration of twelve Franks, Bishop Arnulf among them, by whom it was amicably arranged, Dagobert receiving all the Austrasian kingdom properly so-called, but renouncing all claim to the outlying portions in Aquitaine and Provence, which had been hitherto held by his predecessors at Metz.

Retirement of Arnulf.

After Dagobert had been five years on the Austrasian throne, he lost the more eminent of his two counsellors. Arnulf's desire for solitude and seclusion could be no longer repressed, and in the year 627[2] he announced to the king that he was about to lay down his episcopal dignity and depart to the wilderness.

[1] This would apparently cut off both Luxemburg and Lorraine, but it is not easy to see exactly what is meant by the words of Fredegarius (iv. 47), 'retinens sibi [Chlothario] quod Ardinna et Vosacos versus Neuster et Burgundia excludebant.'

[2] This is the date fixed on by Bonnell, p. 189. In the Introduction to the Vita S. Arnulfi, in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, p. 427, the year 629 is chosen by the Editor (Krusch).

Enraged at this threatened desertion, Dagobert said, 'Unless thou stayest with me, I cut off the heads of thy two sons.' 'My sons' lives,' said the bishop, 'are in the hands of God, nor will thy life be long if thou takest away the life of the innocent.' Dagobert in his anger began to pluck at the dagger which hung from his belt; but the saint, not heeding his wrath, said, 'What are you doing, most miserable of men? Would you repay evil for good? If you will, stain that dagger with my blood. I do not fear to die in obedience to the commands of Him who died for me.' A courtier intervened: the queen came upon the scene, and soon the royal pair were kneeling at the bishop's feet, beseeching him with tears to go to the wilderness, to do what he would, if only he would grant them forgiveness for Dagobert's wicked words.

Emerging from the palace, Arnulf met a sight which doubtless shook his resolution more than all the threats of his master. The lame and blind, the widows and orphans, of the city, who had heard of his intended abdication of the see, crowded round the palace gates, crying with doleful voices, 'O good shepherd! who will give us food and clothing when thou art gone? We pray thee, in Christ's name, do not leave us.' Arnulf gently assured them that some good and merciful man would be found, to be his successor, and comforted them with the story of Lazarus, as miserable as any of them, yet carried by angels into Abraham's bosom. So he passed through the weeping throng, and gained the haven of his oratory.

A successor named Goeric or Abbo, a man somewhat of his own type of character, was found to fill his place. The faithful Romaric, who had long before retired

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from the world, came to escort his friend to the place which he had prepared for his reception in the wilderness. But a miracle was to be wrought ere the late bishop could leave his cathedral city. A fire broke out in Metz the night before the day fixed for his departure. The royal store-house[1] was already consumed: the house in which Arnulf was dwelling was threatened. Romaric and his friends burst into the house, found the saint singing psalms, told him that the horses were at the door, and adjured him to fly. 'Not so,' said Arnulf. 'Take me hence, and set me where I can see this impious conflagration. If it be God's will that I be burned, I am in His hand.' They went together to the burning house; they knelt in prayer: the saint raised the banner of the Cross against the raging flames, which at once began to die down. Arnulf and his friends having sung matins, returned to their beds and passed the rest of the night in sleep.

Having disposed of all his worldly goods—now it must be supposed, with the consent of both his sons—Arnulf retired into the wilderness, apparently somewhere among the solitudes of the Vosges mountains, and there with his friend Romaric passed the last fourteen years of his life. He had a few monks with him, as well as certain lepers, upon whom he waited, performing the most repulsive and menial offices for them with alacrity. He died in July or August, 641; and his body, at first buried by his friend Romaric at the place which, called after that friend, still bears the name Remiremont, was carried with great solemnity by his successor Goeric, to the city of Metz, where the

[1] 'Prumtuarium regis.'

great cathedral of St. Arnoul preserves his memory to this day. BK. VIII. CH. 2.

The veneration for the canonised bishop of Metz soon spread over Gaul, and he was accounted in an especial manner the patron of the Frankish nation. We who read his life with colder sympathies, can yet see that here was a man who deserved to be held in reverence, a statesman and one acquainted with courts, who nevertheless held the joys and the rewards of the life eternal more precious than worldly rank and station. In reading his life, one cannot but feel that in some way the Frankish nation, or at least the Austrasian portion of it, has groped its way upwards since the fifth century. Bishop Arnulf's is an utterly different type of character from the greedy, turbulent, licentious prelates who deface the pages of Gregory of Tours. And when we study the deeds of the great race of statesmen and of kings who sprang from the loins of Arnulf, we shall be often reminded how different was their original from that of the Merovingian race. The half-heathen and wholly vicious Clovis, descendant of the sea-monster, was a fitting ancestor of the Chilperics and Childerics, who slew their kinsfolk when they were strong and their own manhood when they were weak. The saintly and yet wise-hearted Arnulf was a worthy progenitor of the Pippins and Charleses, who were for two centuries among the foremost men in Europe, and whose lives, whatever might be their faults, were one long battle on behalf of Christianity and civilisation.

Veneration for St. Arnulf.

Of the other great ancestor of Charlemagne, Pippin 'of Landen,' there is less to tell than of Arnulf.

Pippin of Landen.

In the year 628, very shortly after Arnulf's retire-

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628.

ment from the Court, Chlotochar II, king of Neustria and Burgundy, died, and his son Dagobert went from the Rhine-land to Paris to wield the sceptre over the whole Frankish realm[1]. His advent was hailed with acclamation, for all Neustria had heard of the young king's wise and just rule over the Austrasian kingdom.

But it was soon and sadly seen how much of that reputation was really due to his counsellors Arnulf and Pippin. The air of Neustria, the influence of the corrupt Gallo-Roman civilisation, awoke the slumbering vices of the Merovingian. Three queens at once, and more concubines than the chronicler cares to enumerate, flaunted it in the Court of Paris, and to supply their extravagances and his own craving for luxury, Dagobert laid greedy hands on the property both of his *leudes*[2] and of the Church. This latter charge (as the story of his life is written by churchmen) perhaps requires us not to give too implicit faith to the harsh judgment which they have pronounced on his character.

Pippin's disgrace.

The relation borne by Pippin of Landen to Dagobert after the death of his father is not very clear. He seems to have followed his young sovereign to Paris, and to have sought to continue to guide him in the administration of his kingdom. But doubtless there was jealousy in Neustria of the influence of the Austrasian counsellor, and strangely enough from Austrasia also came a growl of rage against the too powerful minister. Probably the turbulent nobles

[1] Except a small kingdom which was carved out in Aquitaine for his half-brother Charibert, who, however, died three years after his accession.

[2] Retainers.

against whom he had asserted the royal prerogatives, now saw their opportunity of revenge. The chronicler tells us 'The fury of the Austrasians against him grew so vehement that they even sought to render him odious to Dagobert in order that he might be slain[1].' These evil designs were foiled, but Pippin seems to have lost all power at Court, and to have passed the next eight years (630–638) in retirement, possibly at Orleans, where he was perhaps charged with the education of Dagobert's young son, Sigibert[2].

Marriage of Arnulf's son and Pippin's daughter.

It was during this time of obscuration, probably near its commencement, that the fortunes of the two retired ministers were linked together by the marriage of their children. Somewhere about the year 630, Ansegisel (or Anschisus), the younger son of St. Arnulf, married Becga, daughter of Pippin and sister of the sainted Gertrude, who was the first abbess of the convent of Nivelles in Brabant, founded by her mother.

Pippin's return to Austrasia, and death.

On the death of Dagobert in 638, we are told that Pippin and the other leaders of the Austrasians, who up to the king's death had been kept in control[3], unanimously asked for Sigibert as their king. Pippin renewed his former strong friendship with Cunibert, bishop of Cologne, drew to his side all the Austrasian

[1] 'Zelus Austrasiorum adversus eodem vehementer surgebat, ut etiam ipsum conarint cum Dagobertum facere odiosum ut pocius interficeretur'; 'Fredegarius,' iv. 61. The reader will remember that this chronicler is *super grammaticam.* But however incorrect his style may be, I cannot think it possible to translate as Bonnell proposes, 'Zelus Austrasiorum adversus eodem,' 'Der Eifer der Austrasier *für* Pippin.'

[2] Bonnell's conjecture, founded on Fredegarius, iv. 61, 62.

[3] 'Dicione retenti'; (Ibid. 85). The phrase does not seem to imply absolute imprisonment.

BK. VIII. CH. 2. 638. *leudes*, and by his prudent and gentle rule obtained their friendship, and kept it to the end. Apparently we have here the story of something like a counter-revolution after the death of Dagobert, by which Pippin, now a man of about fifty years of age, was recalled amid the acclamations of his countrymen to undertake the duties of *Major Domus* for the young king. In this capacity he accomplished the important task of dividing the treasures unjustly accumulated by Dagobert. Along with Bishop Cunibert and other Austrasian nobles, he met at the 'villa' of Compendium[1] the widowed queen Nantildis and the magnates of Neustria. One-third of the treasure was assigned to Clovis, the boy-king of Neustria, one-third to the queen dowager, and the remaining third, allotted to Sigibert, was carried by Cunibert and Pippin to the palace at Metz. Shortly after this transaction, in the year 639 or 640, Pippin died, 'and by his death caused great sorrow to all the people of Auster (Austrasia), because he had been loved by them for his goodness and his zeal on behalf of justice[2].' His friend St. Arnulf, who doubtless heard of his death in his wilderness abode, followed him to the tomb in little more than a year.

Grimwald, son of Pippin. For sixteen years after the death of Pippin of Landen, the foremost figure in Austrasian history was his son Grimwald. His name and some points in his history remind us of his more famous contemporary, Grimwald the Lombard, duke of Benevento, and, by a successful stroke of treason, king of the Lombards[3]. There was, as we have seen, some friendly intercourse between

[1] Compiègne. [2] Fredegarius, iv. 85.
[3] See vol. vi. pp. 53, 79, 239–292.

Franks and Lombards in the early part of the sixth century, but apparently there is nothing to justify us in considering the Austrasian duke as namesake of the Lombard king[1].

Not immediately on the death of the elder Pippin did Grimwald obtain the position of *Major Domus* in the Austrasian kingdom. That position seems to have been at first held by a certain Otto, who had been tutor[2] to the new king Sigibert in his childhood, but after two or three years of struggle, Otto was slain by Leuthar, duke of the Alamanni, who was 'of the faction of Grimwald,' and the son of Pippin was recognised by all as *Major Domus* in his father's place. As to Grimwald's government during the thirteen or fourteen years that followed (643 or 642 to 656), we know very little. We are told that he was loved like his father, and it is conjectured that he fostered the pious inclinations of his young king, and was, like him, a liberal friend to the Church[3]: but it is by his premature attempt to turn Major-domat into sovereignty that he is alone famous in history. When Sigibert, king of Austrasia, died in 656, at the age (for a Merovingian king, the advanced age) of twenty-six, Grimwald had the long locks of his son Dagobert shorn off, and sent him to lead a holy life in an Irish monastery, proclaiming his own son, to whom he had given the Merovingian name Childebert, king of the Franks.

But the time was not yet ripe for such a revolution;

[1] In fact the Austrasian was probably not much younger than the Lombard. Grimwald of Forum Julii was probably born about 600, and Grimwald of Austrasia perhaps ten years later.

[2] Bajulus.

[3] See Dahn's Urgeschichte, iii. 659.

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656. Abortive attempt to dethrone the Merovingians.

neither had the family of Pippin, though wealthy, powerful, and perhaps popular, yet done any such deeds as justified them in claiming, as of hereditary right, the allegiance even of Austrasia, much less of all the Frankish kingdoms. 'The Franks,' we are told by a chronicler[1], 'being moved with great indignation, laid snares for Grimwald, and taking him prisoner carried him to Clovis [the Second, brother of Sigibert] for condemnation. Being confined in prison in the city of Paris, and afflicted with the agony of chains, he, who was worthy of death for his practices against his lord, ended his life in mighty torments.'

Anschisus, son of St. Arnulf.

The result of this premature attempt at revolution was for a time to obscure the fortunes of the two great Austrasian houses. Anschisus, or Ansegisel, Grimwald's brother-in-law, who is the least noticeable figure among the Arnulfings, after holding the office of *Major Domus* for a few years (632–638), before the return of the elder Pippin, subsides into obscurity, and we hear no more concerning him save for a late and doubtful statement that he was treacherously slain in 685 by a certain Gunduin, and that his death was gloriously avenged by his son. To the deeds of that son, Pippin 'of Heristal,' grandson of St. Arnulf on his father's side, grandson of Pippin 'of Landen' on his mother's side, we now turn: for now, at last, the shadows are beginning to disperse, and we begin to see something of the well-known

'shapes that must undergo mortality.'

[1] Liber Historiae Francorum, 43.

CHAPTER III.

PIPPIN OF HERISTAL AND CHARLES MARTEL.

Sources:—

CONTINUER OF FREDEGARIUS. As previously[1] stated, the original Burgundian chronicler, who goes under the name of Fredegarius, ended his chronicle with 642. The continuation of the work covers the period from that date to the death of King Pippin, 768, and the accession of Charles and Carloman. For the first eighty-two years, however, it is little more than a transcript from the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. From 724 to 768, that is, for the greater part of the mayoralty of Charles Martel and the rule of Pippin and Carloman, it is an original and important authority. The history from the year 736 to 751 was written by the direction and from the information of Childebrand, uncle of Pippin[2], and that from 751 to 768 was similarly written by direction of his son Nibelung. Unlike the Burgundian 'Fredegarius,' these continuers of the history naturally take the Austrasian view of historical events, and write almost exclusively in the interest of the Arnulfing house. Their barbarous Latinity and utter lack of literary form indicate the low estate of learning in the time of Charles Martel and his sons.

Guides:—

'Die Zeit Karl Martells' by Theodor *Breysig* (Leipzig, 1869). This book belongs (like Bonnell's 'Anfänge') to the valuable series of 'Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte,' and is characterised by the same qualities of thoroughness and impartiality which belong to the rest of the series.

[1] See vol. vi. p. 149.

[2] Probably a son of Alpaida and half-brother of Charles Martel (see Hahn, Jahrbuch des Fränkischen Reichs, 741–752, p. 6).

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Ascendency of Ebroin, 656-681.

In the year 656, the same year which saw the death of Sigibert of Austrasia and the premature attempt of Grimwald to fill the vacant throne, Clovis II of Neustria died also. His sons, Merovingians of the usual imbecile type, were for the next thirty years the nominal rulers of the three Frankish kingdoms[1], at first under the regency of their mother, the sainted Balthildis, an Anglo-Saxon, originally the slave of a Mayor of the Palace, afterwards wife of Clovis II. But the one figure which dominates the obscure and bloody history of the quarter of a century following the fall of Grimwald, is that of Ebroin, who was during the greater part of that time Mayor of the Palace in Neustria and Burgundy. He had more than one sharp struggle for power, especially with the turbulent Leodegarius, bishop of Autun, who figures in the ecclesiastical calendar as St. Leger; but from all these struggles, from the prison and the convent-cell, he emerged triumphant. A hard, cruel, and unscrupulous man he was, yet perhaps as good a ruler as the putrescent western Frankish kingdoms of that day deserved, and he did something to arrest the rapid process of disintegration which had set in.

Abortive attempt of Austrasian party under Pippin of Heristal, 678.

Meanwhile in Austrasia a position somewhat similar to that of Ebroin had been held by a certain Mayor of the Palace named Wulfwald, who for eighteen years seems to have striven to uphold the royal power and the authority of the central government against the usurpations of the nobles. In 674, in order to avoid union with Neustria, the half-forgotten son of Sigibert

[1] Chlotochar III, 656–670; Childeric II, 660–673; Theodoric III, 673–691; their cousin Dagobert II, son of Sigibert II, king of Austrasia, 674–678.

was fetched from the Irish monastery to which, seventeen years before, Grimwald had banished him, and was raised to the Austrasian throne under the title of Dagobert II. In five years, however, his troubled reign was at an end, and then it seemed inevitable that the Neustrian king[1], whose rule, as all men knew, meant simply the rule of the terrible Ebroin, must reign in Austrasia. To avert this danger, the nobles put an army in the field (678), and the leaders of that army were Pippin of Heristal and a confederate, possibly a kinsman named Martin. Battle was joined, probably in the neighbourhood of Laon, and the Austrasians were routed with terrible slaughter. Pippin escaped: Martin shut himself up in Laon, and was besieged there by Ebroin. He was summoned to surrender, and the messengers of Ebroin swore to him on certain boxes, which were believed to contain very holy relics of saints, that his life should be spared. Unfortunately for Martin the boxes when opened were found to be empty, and the tremendous oath could therefore be violated with impunity[2]. He and his comrades were put to death, and Austrasia, like her sister kingdoms, came under the harsh rule of Ebroin.

674.

Murder of Ebroin.

Three years after this defeat of the Austrasians, Ebroin perished, a victim to private revenge. He was assassinated by a certain Frankish nobleman named Hermenfrid, whose property he had confiscated, and who, waiting by the door of his house in the grey of

[1] Theodoric III.

[2] This trick was therefore (as Dahn points out) just the opposite of that alleged to have been played on Harold by William the Norman. There the relics were more venerable than Harold supposed: here the pretended relics were no relics at all.

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the morning, slew him as he was setting out for mass[1]. The thought that he had thus been sent out of life 'unhousel'd, unannealed,' gave a keener edge to the joy of the avenger.

Neustrian Revolutions.

The murderer of Ebroin fled to Pippin for refuge, and the successor of Ebroin in the Mayoralty of the Palace, who was named Waratto, made a treaty of peace, exchanging hostages with the same Austrasian chief, whose fortunes were evidently now beginning to recover from the effects of the great disaster of Laon. Moreover, there were dissensions in the family of Waratto. These Neustrian mayors lacked that instinct of family cohesion which was so strong in the early generations of the Arnulfings. Waratto's son Ghislemar, apparently an able but shifty person, intrigued against his father and thrust him out of the Major-domat (683). He carried on the perpetual feud of Neustria against Austrasia, fighting a hard battle against Pippin at Namur, and probably defeating him, for we are told that 'after swearing a false oath, he slew very many of the noble followers of Pippin.' Returning to his home, however, 'he was struck by the hand of God, and, as he deserved, yielded up his most wicked spirit' (684). Waratto hereupon recovered his dignity of Mayor of the Palace, which he held for two years, years of peace between him and the Austrasian chief[2].

Battle of Textri.

On the death of Waratto in 686, he was succeeded in the office of *Major Domus* by his son-in-law Berchar,

[1] This detail is given in the second life of St. Leodegarius.

[2] It is just in these years (685) that the *Annales Mettenses* insert the murder of Ansegisel by Gundoin, an almost impossible combination of events. The *Annales Mettenses* are a very untrustworthy authority, and if the event itself be not rejected, at any rate we must reject the date assigned to it.

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a man whose small stature and pitiable self-conceit earned for him the contempt of the Neustrian nobles. In the war which almost as a matter of course was waged between Neustria and Austrasia, the disaffection of the Neustrian nobility led to a momentous result. The armies met at Textri in Picardy (687). The puppet king Theodoric III was there as well as his insignificant *Major Domus*, but the best men in Neustria seem to have been in the opposite camp, and Pippin won a decisive victory. Berchar escaped from the field of battle, but only to die at home by the weapon of an assassin, instigated, it was said, by his mother-in-law Ausfled. Pippin obtained possession of the person of the Merovingian king and of the royal hoard, arranged all things in the palace according to his good will and pleasure, and returned into Austrasia, now practically the unquestioned lord of all the three kingdoms.

The year 687, the date of the battle of Textri, is one of three, which are the most noteworthy steps in the ascent of the Arnulfing house to the headship of Western Europe[1]. The dreary and chaotic period of miscellaneous mayoralties is over. From henceforward, with one very slight break, the supremacy of the great Austrasian family is unquestioned and incontestable.

Mayoralty of Pippin of Heristal.

Of the twenty-seven years (687–714) during which Pippin of Heristal was the virtual sovereign of France, we have very meagre accounts in the chronicles. Fainéant Merovingian kings, Theodoric III and his

[1] The other two are 751, the coronation of the younger Pippin as king of the Franks, and 800, the coronation of Charles as Emperor of Rome.

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sons, come and go, but history refuses to take account of them save to notice that though they still receive the flattering titles 'renowned' and 'glorious,' they are actually spoken of as subject to their nominal servant the Mayor of the Palace[1]. The principal figure of this period, after Pippin's, seems to be that of Ratbod, chief or king of the Frisians, who remained obdurate in his Paganism, and with whom Pippin had more than one sharp encounter, and whom he at last decisively defeated at Durestede near Utrecht. We are somewhat surprised to find a daughter of this 'Gentile' chief given in marriage to Pippin's son Grimwald, but we may conjecture that she was received into the Christian Church before the espousals, and that the marriage was a pledge of the alliance and consequent peace which seems to have prevailed between Pippin and the Frisians for the last twenty years of his Major-domat.

Ratbod the Frisian.

Pippin in Swabia.

We hear of Pippin also as invading the country of the Alamanni, that is to say, the region afterwards known as Swabia. From this and other slight indications, we may infer that while ruling Neustria and Burgundy by the means either of a faithful adherent or of a son holding the office of *Major Domus* in those kingdoms, his own work was chiefly Austrasian, and consisted in re-establishing the Frankish power in those lands east of the Rhine which, under the rule of

[1] 'Pippinus obtinuit regnum Francorum . . . cum *regibus sibi subiectis* Hluduwigo, Hildeberto et Dagoberto' (Annales Laurissenses Minores). But 'Childebertus . . . vir inclytus in regno statutus est. Tunc enim bonae memoriae gloriosus domnus Childebertus rex iustus migravit ad Dominum' (Liber Hist. Francorum, 49, 50). Possibly Childebert was slightly less of a shadow than his father and brothers.

the effete Merovingians, had been gradually dropping off from the monarchy.

Death of the two legitimate sons of Pippin.

The last years of Pippin of Heristal were clouded by family bereavement. By his wife Plectrude, who is spoken of as a 'noble and very prudent woman,' but who seems to have been ambitious and perhaps somewhat intriguing, he had two sons, Drogo and Grimwald. In the year 708, Drogo died of fever and was laid in the basilica of his sainted ancestor Arnulf at Metz. In 714 the second son Grimwald, whom we have just met with as son-in-law of the Frisian chief, and who was already *Major Domus* of Neustria, was on his way to visit his father who was lying sick at Jupille on the Meuse in the neighbourhood of Liège. Turning to pray at the basilica of St. Lambert in Liège[1], he was waylaid and slain by 'a certain most cruel man, a son of Belial, the heathen Rantgar.' The mention of the heathenism of Rantgar suggests the conjecture that he was a Frisian, and that the cause of quarrel may have been connected with Grimwald's marriage with the daughter of Ratbod.

Death of Pippin, 16 Dec. 714. Theudwald, his grandson, Mayor of the Palace under his grandmother Plectrude.

Grimwald left one son, Theudwald, the offspring not of his marriage with the Frisian princess, but of a connection unblessed by the Church. This boy[2] appears to have been at once promoted to his father's Neustrian mayoralty, and on the death of his grandfather Pippin, which happened soon after (hastened very probably by the tragedy of Grimwald's murder),

[1] Leudico (Liber Historiae Francorum, c. 50).

[2] He is called 'filius parvulus' and 'infantulus' by the continuer of 'Fredegarius.' The Liber Historiae Francorum makes his birth contemporary with the death of his uncle Drogo (708). Bonnell (p. 130) guesses him to have been a man of 25: surely an unwarranted deviation from the authorities.

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714.

he was recognised as the heir to all his greatness. Of course the nominal rule of such a child implied a regency, and that regency was also of course wielded by the ambitious widow of Pippin. As the chronicler, who is somewhat of an admirer of the new regent, tells us, 'Plectrude with her grandsons and the king governed all things with discreet rule[1].' The use of the word 'grandsons' in the plural probably points to the association in the government of a son of the deceased Drogo, named Hugo, who was at this time about eighteen years of age[2], but who had already entered the Church, and afterwards rose to be abbot of St. Wandril and archbishop of Rouen.

Absurdity of the position.

The position of affairs, as indicated by the chronicler, was certainly a sufficiently absurd one. Here was this nominal king Dagobert III, now fifteen years of age. His Mayor of the Palace, that is, his confidential adviser and practical man of affairs, was a little child of perhaps six years old: but that child again was advised, and of course absolutely governed, by his grandmother, a 'very prudent' but not very popular person, and a young clerical cousin who was mounting the ladder of ecclesiastical preferment.

Pippin's illegitimate son Charles Martel.

What made the situation more preposterous was that there was already in the Arnulfing house a man of full age, a son of the just deceased statesman, one in every way admirably qualified to hold the reins of power, and kept in the background only by a beldame's jealousy. This was Charles, ever after to be known as Charles Martel, son of Pippin of Heristal and Alpaida.

[1] 'Plectrudis quoque cum nepotibus suis vel rege cuncta gubernabat sub discreto regimine' (Lib. Hist. Franc. c. 51).

[2] His parents Drogo and Adaltrud were married before 697 (see Dahn, Urgeschichte, iii. 714, 746).

Whether Alpaida were wife or concubine cannot be safely said, but as she was living at the same time as Plectrude, and as her son was younger than the sons of her rival, the legitimacy of Charles can only be maintained by resorting to an elaborate theory of divorces and remarriages for which there does not seem to be any warrant in the authorities. The Arnulfings, though not as outrageously profligate as the Merovingians, were notoriously lax in their marriage relations, which with them tended to assume the character of polygamy, and legitimacy or illegitimacy was not a matter of supreme importance.

The origin of the name Charles, which has since figured so prominently in the royal houses, not of France and Germany alone, but also of Spain, England, Sweden, and Naples, is thus told by an old Saga[1]. At the time of his birth a messenger was sent to inform the child's father. Bursting into the presence of the great Austrasian, he found him sitting with Plectrude by his side; and, perhaps overawed by the presence of the rival princess, the messenger stammered out, 'Long live the king[2]! It is a Karl,' using a colloquial term for a boy[3]. 'And a good name too,' laughed the delighted if somewhat embarrassed father. 'Let him be called Karl.'

Civil War, 715-716.

Fearing the obvious danger to her rule which existed in the person of this hated step-son, Plectrude immediately on her husband's death shut up Charles in

[1] Quoted by Breysig (p. 8) from a medieval work by Jordanus of Osnabrück edited by Waitz.

[2] Pippin of course was not king, but only *Major Domus*. This is perhaps a proof of the late origin of the Saga: but it may not be a conventional compliment to Merovingian royalty?

[3] Karl=German *Kerl*: whence English *churl*.

715.

prison. Then burst forth a storm which very nearly shattered the Frankish monarchy. The Neustrians, who had no mind to accept the rule of a baby Mayor of the Palace from the hated Austrasians, proclaimed one of their own countrymen, Raginfrid, Mayor, and declared war upon Plectrude and her grandson. In a battle which was fought in the Cotian forest (near Compiègne), the Austrasians were utterly defeated, the boy-mayor Theudwald fled from the field, and apparently the Merovingian king Dagobert III fell into the hands of Raginfrid (715). On Dagobert's death shortly after, a certain priest of Merovingian extraction named Daniel was fetched out of the church and proclaimed king under the title of Chilperic II. Here at last was a Merovingian king of full age, for this Daniel was a man of between forty and fifty; and when the long locks began to grow where the clerical tonsure had been, he was probably able to play the part with more dignity than the boy-kings his predecessors. He even seems to have entered with some energy into the struggle with the Austrasian house, but in that struggle, however necessary it may have seemed for the preservation of Merovingian kingship, the far more important interests of the great Frankish monarchy which Pippin of Heristal had so assiduously promoted were like to have been utterly ruined. The Neustrian king and his Mayor joined hands with the old heathen Ratbod king of the Frisians, pressed on to the Meuse, besieged Plectrude in Cologne, and at last having received from the dismayed dowager a large part of the treasure accumulated by her husband, marched back into their own land (716).

716.

Charles Martel escapes from prison.

The one favourable symptom in this perilous conjuncture of affairs was, that in the confusion caused by the civil war, Charles Martel had escaped from his step-mother's keeping. Gradually the loyal followers, the *leudes* of his father, gathered round him. Defeated at first with great loss by Frisian Ratbod, and unsuccessful in his war against the Neustrians, he still held on his way, and now, falling on the triumphant invaders at a place called Amblava, he inflicted upon them a severe defeat and carried back the paternal treasure to Cologne. A still more crushing defeat which Chilperic and Raginfrid sustained next year (717) at Vincy near Cambrai was the crisis of Charles's fortunes. He visited Paris as a conqueror, and when he returned to Cologne Plectrude handed over to him the remaining treasures of his father and retired into obscurity. His nephew Theudwald appears to have taken orders as an ecclesiastic and to have died not many years after. Charles was now the admitted head of the Arnulfing house, the acknowledged Mayor of the Palace for Austrasia: and though the civil war with Neustria still lingered, chiefly owing to the powerful aid which Raginfrid received from Eudo, the virtually independent duke of Aquitaine, it was ended in 720 by a convenient compromise. Along with the Neustrian treasure Chilperic II was handed over to Charles, whose own puppet-king had just died, and who could therefore easily admit him to the vacant dignity. Raginfrid, whose opposition was obstinate and protracted, does not seem to have been finally subdued till 725, when he was allowed to retain the position of Count of Angers[1].

Charles Martel supreme in Austrasia.

[1] Paulus Diaconus (Hist. Lang. vi. 42) says, 'Cui [Raginfrido]

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Thus after our review of two centuries of Frankish history we have come down to the accession to power of the hero whose period of rule, as before stated[1], almost exactly coincided with that of the last great Lombard king, Liutprand.

Charles Martel and the Moors.

The one event of world-historical importance in Charles Martel's leadership of the Franks was his victory over the Mussulman invaders of Gaul in the year 732. In 711 the Moors (as the Saracen conquerors were called owing to their having entered Europe from Mauretania) had crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and had in one battle overthrown the effete, priest-ridden monarchy of the Visigoths. Five years afterwards they entered Gaul: four years after that (720) they took Narbonne and made the old Gothic province of Septimania their own. Eudo of Aquitaine, who had just made his peace with Charles Martel, compelled them in that year to retreat from the unconquered city of Toulouse, and that ineffectual siege may be considered as the first sign of the reflux of the wave of Saracen invasion. But five years later (725) the Moors had actually penetrated as far as Autun in Burgundy. How little most students of modern history grasp the fact that the standard of the Crescent once floated within a hundred miles of the Lake of Geneva! During these years the opposition of Eudo to the Moorish advance was intermitted, and from the champion of Christianity he seemed in danger of

unam hoc est Andegavensem civitatem ad habitandum concessit'; and Annales Mettenses (s. a. 725), 'Karolus Raginfridum in civitate Andegavis inclusit, filiumque ejus obsidem ducens ipsum comitatum sibi quamdiu vixit solitâ pietate habere concessit.'

[1] Vol. vi. p. 422.

becoming its betrayer. They were on his part years of revolt against Frankish supremacy, and of alliance, even matrimonial alliance, with the Mussulman, for Eudo's daughter Lampegia was given in marriage to a Berber chief named Munuza. In 731 there was war in earnest between Charles Martel and Eudo of Aquitaine. The Austrasian twice crossed the Loire, defeated Eudo, and returned home each time with great booty.

Moorish invasion of Aquitaine, 732.

But in 732 these relations were suddenly changed. Eudo's son-in-law the Berber chief had been put to death by the lawful Moorish governor of Spain, and now that governor, Abderrahman, crossed the Pyrenees with a mighty army, intent on punishing Eudo, but doubtless also intent on adding Gaul as well as Spain to the countries which professed the faith of Mohammed. Laying waste the land and burning the churches, the Saracens reached the Garonne and laid siege to Bordeaux. Eudo, striving to deliver the city, was defeated with terrible loss and fled to his late enemy Charles, imploring his succour. The invaders pressed on by the great Roman road which led northward from the Garonne to the Loire [1]. They reached Poictiers, where they burned the church of St. Hilary: they were threatening the yet more venerated sanctuary of St. Martin at Tours. But Count Eudo had not reckoned in vain on the statesmanlike generosity of Charles Martel, who, forgetful of all the recent causes of quarrel between Austrasia and Aquitaine, determined at any cost to repel the onslaught of the Islamites. Having collected a large army, in which probably Frisians, Saxons and Alamanni served as well as Franks, he moved rapidly across the Loire and took up a strong

[1] This is well put by Dahn, Urgeschichte, iii. 792.

BK. VIII. CH. 3. position near the town of Old Poictiers between the rivers Elain and Vienne, barring the road to Tours[1].

732. Battle of Poictiers. A terrible battle followed. The fervour of the sons of the desert, who perchance like the first warriors of Islam deemed that they already saw the flashing eyes of the houris waiting to receive them into Paradise, was met, was chilled, was broken by the stolid courage of the soldiers from Rhineland, who stood, says the historian, rigid and immovable as a wall of ice. Yet from that icy wall flashed forth countless swords wielded by strong arms and held as in the grasp of iron hands; and under their strokes Abderrahman himself and thousands of his bravest warriors fell prostrate[2]. Grievous however were also the losses of the Frankish army, but with stout hearts they nerved themselves for the expected contest of the morrow. But when the morrow dawned the long rows of the tents of the Saracens were seen to be strangely solitary and unpeopled. The Franks feared a snare and an ambus-

[1] The site of the great battle of 732 is carefully discussed by Dahn (l. c.), following in some measure St. Hypolite (in the Spectateur Militaire, 1843), and is by him fixed as above. A little confusion has arisen from some of the authorities speaking of Abderrahman's march towards Tours, which he undoubtedly intended to capture; and hence the battle is sometimes called the battle of Tours; but it seems equally clear that he never reached that place, and that the battle was fought, as above stated, at Old Poictiers.

[2] I paraphrase here the enthusiastic description of 'Isidorus Pacensis,' a writer as to whose personality there is some dispute, but who appears to be undoubtedly contemporary: 'Gentes septentrionales in ictu oculi ut paries immobiles permanentes sicut et zona rigoris glacialiter manent adstricti Arabes gladio enecant. Sed ubi gens Austriae mole membrorum praevalida et ferreâ manu perardua pectorabiliter ferientes regem inventum exanimant,' &c.

cade, but gradually their scouts venturing into the hostile lines brought back word that the camp was indeed deserted, that there was an abundance of spoil in the tents, that the enemy, disheartened by the terrible slaughter of the previous day, had fled under cover of the night. The scene which followed must have been like that described by the Jewish historian after the flight of the Syrian host [1]. The Austrasian soldiers peaceably divided among themselves the immense spoil of the Saracens, and returned with joy to their own land, where doubtless many barbarian fingers handled and barbarian eyes appraised with wonder the tissues woven in the looms of Damascus and the cunning work of the goldsmiths of Seville.

Thus was the great blow struck, and Europe, at least Europe north of the Pyrenees, was freed from the nightmare of Mussulman invasion. Charles Martel was hailed as the great deliverer of Christendom, and popular report, which 'lied like a bulletin,' so magnified his victory that barely half a century after the event an honest and sober historian like Paulus Diaconus could write, and could expect his readers to believe, that the Franks slew 375,000 Saracens, with a loss of only 1,500 of their own countrymen [2].

Later operations against the Saracens, 737-738.

Three years after this great victory Count Eudo died (735), and a Frankish invasion of Aquitaine seems to have been necessary in order to reduce his son

[1] 2 Kings vii. 15.

[2] 'Carolus siquidem cum Eudone Aquitaniae principe tunc discordiam habebat. Qui tamen in unum se conjungentes contra eosdem Sarracenos pari consilio dimicarunt. Nam inruentes Franci super eos, trecenta septuaginta quinque millia Sarracenorum interemerunt: ex Francorum vero parte mille et quingenti tantum ibi ceciderunt' (Hist. Lang. vi. 46).

BK. VIII. CH. 3. 737. Hunold to the same degree of dependence on the central monarchy in which Eudo had acquiesced since the day of his great deliverance. Two years later (737) there was again war between the Saracens and Charles, but not apparently on the vast scale of the earlier campaign. The invaders were aided by disunion or treachery among the Christians. A certain duke Maurontus, in league with other rebel nobles of Provence who probably resented the pretensions of the Austrasian Mayor to rule their southern land, conspired with the Saracens of Septimania and enabled them to possess themselves of the strong city of Avignon as well as of the more exposed city of Arles. Charles, who was now growing old, and who was besides always more or less engaged in hostile operations against the Frisians and Saxons on his northern border, sent his brother, or half-brother, 'an industrious man, Childebrand,' with a large army and many dukes and counts under him to recover the lost territory. Our interest in this industrious kinsman or offshoot of the great Austrasian house is increased when we find that it is to him and his son Nibelung that we owe the order for the composition of those chronicles (the Continuation of Fredegarius) from which almost all our slender knowledge of the history of this period is derived[1]. Avignon was blockaded: Charles himself appeared upon the scene: there were the sounding of trumpets and the shouting of

[1] Cont. Fredegarii, § 34: 'Usque nunc inluster vir Childebrandus comes avunculus praedicto rege Pippino hanc historiam vel gesta Francorum diligentissime scribere procuravit. Abhinc ab inlustre viro Nibelungo, filium ipsius Childebrando, itemque comite, succedat auctoritas.' (The grammar of these chroniclers as usual is slightly imperfect.)

warriors 'as at Jericho,' but there were also engines of war and ropes and cords before which ere long the defence fell powerless. The Franks streamed in at the breach, slaying and burning, and Avignon was recovered from the infidels[1]. BK. VIII. CH. 3. 737.

From Avignon Charles pressed on across the Rhone, defeated the Saracens in a great battle near the sea-coast south of Narbonne, and slew their leader Omar, but failed to take Narbonne itself, though he took Nîmes and Agde and demolished their walls. Through the meagre sentences of the chronicler we seem dimly to discern that, as already hinted, there was something more in this campaign than the opposition between Christian and Moslem, that the Romanised and meridional children of Provence resented the domination of the rough Teutonic warriors from Rhineland, and were even willing to join hands with the Saracens in order to break the Austrasian yoke from off their necks.

It was apparently at the time of this Saracen invasion that Charles Martel asked for and obtained that help from his brother-in-law Liutprand king of the Lombards which has been described in a previous volume[2].

Next year Charles again sent Childebrand to Pro-

[1] 'In modum Hiericho cum strepitu hostium et sonitum tubarum cum machinis et restium funibus super muros et edium moenia inruunt, urbem munitissimam ingredientes succendunt, hostes inimicos suorum capiunt, interficientes trucidant atque prosternent [*sic*] et in sua dicione efficaciter restituunt' (Fred. Cont. § 20).

[2] See vol. vi. p. 475. Paulus alone mentions this Lombard intervention, as to which the Continuer of Fredegarius is silent: 'Tunc Carolus legatos cum muneribus ad Liutprandum regem mittens, ab eo contra Sarracenos auxilium poposcit; qui nihil moratus cum omni Langobardorum exercitus in ejus adjutorium properavit' (Hist. Lang. vi. 54).

BK. VIII. CH. 3. 738. vence to complete the work of subjugation, and again followed in his kinsman's footsteps. Though Narbonne was not taken and Septimania remained Saracen, all Provence was apparently won back and firmly united to the Frankish monarchy. The traitor Maurontus escaped 'by safest ways over inaccessible rocks,' doubtless, that is to say, by the narrow gorges and snow-blocked passes of the Maritime Alps.

Last years of Charles Martel. Charles Martel was now sole ruler of the great Frankish monarchy, for on the death of the *fainéant* king Theodoric IV in 737 he had not thought it necessary to put another puppet in his place. On his return from this last expedition to Provence (in 738) to his villa at Verimbria near Compiègne he began to sicken, and for the remaining three years of his life he was in feeble health. While he was in this condition came those two embassies which have been already described, from Pope Gregory III beseeching his assistance against the Lombard kings Liutprand and Hildeprand. They returned ineffectual, though they brought to the great Mayor, besides many other precious gifts, the chains of St. Peter, the keys of his sepulchre, and the honour (which it was not for the Pope to bestow) of a Roman consulship[1]. But Charles, besides the

[1] This is apparently the meaning of the enigmatic words of the Continuer of Fredegarius: 'Eo etenim tempore bis a Româ sede sancti Petri apostoli beatus papa Gregorius claves venerandi sepulchri cum vincula sancti Petri et muneribus magnis et infinitis legationem, quod antea nullis auditis aut visis temporibus fuit, memorato principi destinavit, eo pacto patrato ut a partibus imperatoris recederet et Romano consulto praefato principe Carlo sanciret' (l. c. 22). Apparently *Romano consulto = Romanum consulatum*. The chronicler speaks as if it was the Pope's chief object to detach Charles Martel from the Iconoclastic Emperor,

natural dissuasions of enfeebled health and approaching old age, had no inclination to engage for the Pope's sake in a war with a kinsman, an ally, and the knightly godfather of his son Pippin[1]. Any warlike deeds that had to be done in the few remaining years of his supremacy were done by his sons. He tarried peaceably at home, gave great gifts to the church of St. Denis at Paris in which his bones were to be laid, and then departing to his favourite villa[2] of Cariciacum (now Quierzy-sur-Oise) he was there seized with a fever of which he died on the 22nd of October, 741.

His death 741.

Character of his rule.

In his reign (for such we may truly call his mayoralty) of nearly twenty-five years, Charles had accomplished great things. With many a warlike blow, corresponding to his surname the Hammer, he had welded the once-discordant kingdoms, Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, into unity. He had done something towards the more difficult work of forcing Aquitaine to renounce its semi-independence and become a loyal member of the Frankish monarchy. In the north and in the south he had shown himself a valorous champion of the Christian Church militant, since not only had he repelled the Mussulman invasions of Gaul, but by his perpetual and in the main successful wars with the Frisians he had made possible those missionary expeditions by which our countryman Wynfrith, better known as Boniface, chastised the heathen, destroyed their idols, and with energy of arm as well as of tongue made

but the letters in the *Codex Carolinus* speak only of the wickedness of the Lombards.

[1] See vol. vi. p. 474.

[2] I use the word 'villa' of course in its Roman and medieval sense, signifying a great domain with houses for the lord and his domestic servants in the middle of it.

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Christianity triumphant along the whole course of the Rhine.

His relation to the Church.

But all these valiant deeds on behalf of the Church availed not to save the memory of Charles Martel from the ecclesiastical ban to which he alone of all the early descendants of St. Arnulf is obnoxious. The ancestors of Charles in their upward struggle towards the supreme power had uniformly leant upon the arm of the Church: but that Church in the disorganisation of the later Merovingian monarchy had grown so rich and so headstrong that probably any wise and statesmanlike ruler was bound to come into collision with its hierarchs. That Charles's acts in derogation of its power were all wise and statesmanlike it would be rash to assert. He was a great military chieftain, with a number of hungry followers to provide for. Not only the consolidation of his own power in Neustria and Austrasia, but his border wars with Frisians and Saxons, his tremendous struggle with the Saracens, all had to be carried on by the help of generals and officers versed in the arts of war, who assuredly were not backward in urging their claims to tangible rewards. But the great Crown lands, out of which in earlier days a Merovingian king might have appeased his hungry followers, were, there is reason to think, in large measure by this time alienated to ecclesiastical purposes. It is probable that a large part of the land of Gaul was now held of the Church under the name of *beneficia* by tenants who were bound to make a certain yearly payment to their ecclesiastical lords. What Charles Martel appears to have done in the difficult circumstances in which he found himself, was not indeed to order a general confiscation of Church property—of that he seems to be

unjustly accused—but in many cases to use the right of resumption of grants which at least theoretically resided in the Crown, in order to take away lands from a bishopric here or a monastery there, and bestow them on some stout warrior whom he was sending as Count to rule a distant province or to fight the Frisian or the Saracen. In many such cases the actual occupation of the soil would not be changed, but the holder of the *beneficium* would be ordered to pay his rent (as we should call it) not to the Churchman but to the Count.

Of course these acts of spoliation, however necessary they may have been for the salvation of the state, were resented by the ecclesiastics at whose expense they were performed. A proceeding which looked less violent but which was really far more perilous to the best life of the Church, was the bestowal on Charles's own henchmen—mere warriors without any pretence to the religious character—of the prelacies and abbacies which were endowed for a very different purpose. Nor did he confine himself to bestowing one only at a time upon his favourites. The pluralist abuse now also crept into the Church. His follower Milo ('who was a clergyman only by his tonsure') received the headship of the convents of Trier and Rheims; and his nephew Hugo was actually crowned with the three mitres of Paris, Rouen, and Bayeux, and was at the same time abbot of Fontenelle and Jumièges[1].

Such a high-handed policy towards the Church was certain to excite the anger of the ecclesiastics who had it in their power to bless or to curse, in this world at

[1] In this paragraph I endeavour to condense the statements on the subject which I find in Waitz's Verfassungs-Geschichte, iii. 12–18.

any rate, if not in the next. Possibly also Charles's refusal to aid the Pope against the Lombards may have added an article to the indictment against him. In the next century, Archbishop Hincmar, writing the life of St. Eucherius, bishop of Orleans, related that the saint, being one day engaged in prayer, was allowed to have a beatific vision of the other world, in the course of which by the gift of the Lord he was permitted to see Charles tormented in the lowest hell. Enquiring the cause of this punishment, Eucherius was told by an angel that in Charles's case the judgment of the last day was anticipated, and that he had to suffer the punishment not only of his own sins but of the sins of all those who had devised lands and houses for the support of the servants of Christ and for lighting candles in the churches, but whose pious intentions had been frustrated by his confiscations. On recovering consciousness the saint called to him St. Boniface and Fulrad abbot of St. Denis and bade them go to the church and open Charles's tomb. If they found that empty they would surely then believe that he had seen a true vision. They went; they opened the vault; a dragon issued forth, and all the interior of the vault was black and charred with fire. 'This is written,' says the chronicler, 'that all who read it may take note of the righteous damnation of him by whom the property of the Church has been unjustly taken away[1].'

So wrote Hincmar about the middle of the ninth century. The story is hard to believe, since the bishop Eucherius died three years before Charles Martel.

[1] Annales Fuldenses (here interpolated), A. D. 738 (Pertz's Monumenta Germaniae Historica, i. 345).

CHAPTER IV.

DUKES OF BAVARIA.

Sources :—

Lives of Rupert, Emmeran, Corbinian, and Boniface in the ACTA SANCTORUM.

LETTERS OF BONIFACE in Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

Guide :—

Quitzmann's Aelteste Geschichte von Bayern.

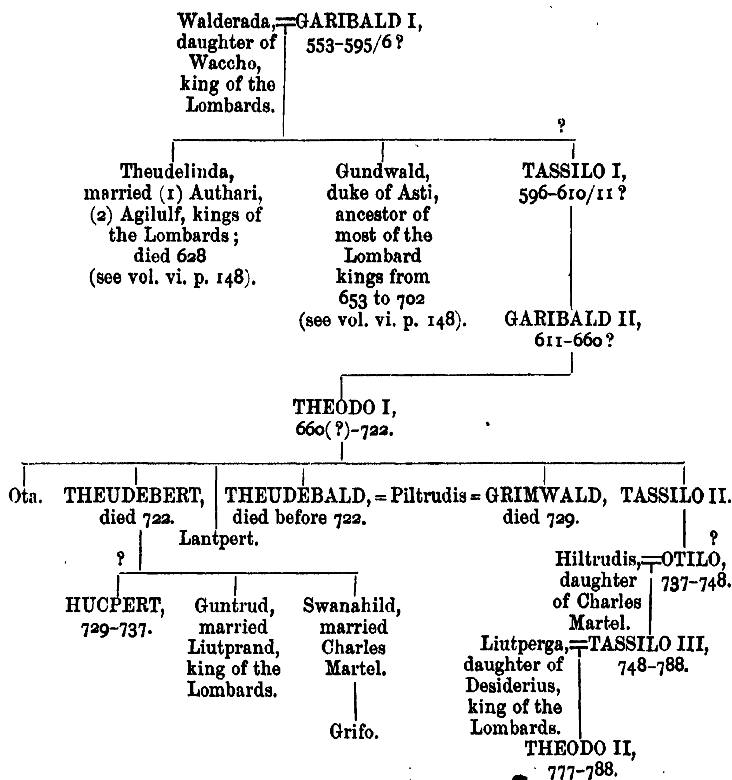
THERE is a neighbour land of Italy to whose history we must give some little attention if we would understand the events which preceded and followed the downfall of the Lombard state.

Extent of the Bavarian duchy.

We have seen how closely for more than a century the dynasty which reigned over the Lombards was connected with the rulers of Bavaria. The two countries touched most closely in that region which we now know as the Tyrol, where the valley of the Adige from a little above Trient downwards was ruled by a Lombard duke, while the upper waters of the Adige and the Eisach, with the Vintschgau, Meran, Botzen and Brixen were all as a rule subject to the Bavarians [1].

[1] And therefore if one went far enough back into medieval history there was good precedent for that annexation of Tyrol to Bavaria by Napoleon which led to the insurrection under Andreas Hofer.

GENEALOGY OF THE AGILOLFINGS.



With the addition of this Alpine territory and of Upper Austria and Salzburg and with the subtraction of a strip of land west of the river Lech, and of the valley of the Main in the north-west, the duchy of Bavaria corresponded pretty closely with the modern kingdom of that name. A large square block of fruitful land watered by the Danube and the Inn, this duchy, bordering on Alamannia on the west and Italy on the south, was sure to play an important part in the politics of central Europe. The Bavarians themselves appear to have been a Suevic tribe who wandered into the old Roman province of Vindelicia, then lying desolate and unoccupied, a sort of No-man's-land between the Danube and the Alps, and to have settled there in the early part of the sixth century. Almost from the very beginning of their Danubian settlement they seem to have been subject to the overlordship of the Frankish kings, but the yoke was lightly imposed, perhaps as the result of peaceful arrangement rather than of war, and does not appear to have involved, as in many other cases, the payment of a tribute[1].

Reigning house: the Agilolfings.

Almost at the outset of their history as settlers in Vindelicia we find the Bavarians under the leadership of a great ducal house, the Agilolfings[2]. Of the origin of this family we have no certain information, but there are many indications which point to the con-

[1] See Quitzmann, pp. 137–143.

[2] We get the name of the reigning house from the *Lex Baiuvariorum*, ii. 20 (ed. Lindenborg): 'Dux vero qui praest in populo, ille semper de genere Agilolfingorum fuit et debet esse, quia sic reges antecessores nostri concesserunt eis, ut qui de genere illorum fidelis Regi erat et prudens, ipsum constituerit ducem ad regendum populum illum.'

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clusion that they were themselves of Frankish descent[1], possibly allied to the Merovingian kings.

Duke Garibald I, 553-596?

The first of these Agilolfing rulers of whom history makes mention is Garibald, husband of the Lombard

Alleged Frankish origin of the Agilolfings.

[1] For this conclusion (which must be taken as modifying the remarks in vol. v. p. 285, n.) Quitzmann brings forward the following arguments (pp. 146–158):—

1. The name Agilulf is often found in documents relating to Rhineland but does not seem to be indigenous among the Bavarians.

2. We meet in 'Fredegarius,' iv. 52, with a Frankish (Austrasian) nobleman named Chrodoald, 'de gente nobili Ayglolfinga.'

3. The *weregild* paid for the murder of an Agilolfing is not 640 solidi, as it should have been according to the Bavarian Code, but 600, which (as the threefold composition of a private person) is the right sum according to the Salian Code for an *antrustion* of the king.

4. And this rank exactly suits the first mention of Garibald, the first of the Agilolfings of whom we hear anything. We are told (by Paulus, H. L. i. 21) that Walderada, the divorced wife of Cusupald (Theudebald, king of Austrasia), was given '*uni ex suis* qui dicebatur Garibald.' This *unus ex suis* just describes the position of a companion or kinsman of the Frankish king.

5. It is suggested that the Agilolfings might be descended from Agiulf, twenty-sixth bishop of Metz, of whom we hear from Paulus (Liber de ordine Episcoporum Mettensium) that he was 'ex Chlodovei regis Francorum filiâ procreatus.' But this seems to me most improbable and I attach no importance to this argument.

6. The statement of 'Fredegarius' (iv. 34) that queen Theudelinda was '*ex genere Francorum*' now assumes additional importance.

7. Similarly the undoubted fact that Gundiperga, daughter of Theudelinda, was twice delivered from imprisonment (see vol. vi. pp. 162 and 166) by the intercession of a Frankish king, and in the first instance on the ground of her being '*parens Francorum*' (Fredegarius, iv. 71), is now seen to fit in with the circumstances of the case. On the whole therefore I am disposed to accept the theory which I before rejected, that Garibald, head of the Agilolfing dynasty, though duke of Bavaria, was himself by descent a Salian Frank and probably a kinsman of the Merovingians.

princess Walderada, who was the divorced wife of the Frankish king Chlotochar[1]. His daughter Theudelinda was the celebrated and saintly queen of the Lombards. The reader may remember the romantic stories of her wooing by the disguised Authari and of the cup of wine which she handed to the favoured Agilulf[2]. From some cause which is unknown to us Garibald incurred the displeasure of his Frankish lords and probably had to submit to a Frankish invasion[3]. There is no proof however that he lost his ducal crown, and about the year 596 he seems to have been succeeded by a son named Tassilo I (596–611). It is indeed nowhere distinctly stated that this was the relationship between the two princes, but the fact that Tassilo's son and successor was named Garibald II renders it probable.

Tassilo I, 596-611?

Of the reigns of these early dukes of Bavaria we know very little, nor can we with any certainty fix the date of the second Garibald's possession of power[4]. It seems clear, however, that through the greater part of the seventh century the bond of allegiance to the Frankish monarchy was growing looser and looser; *fainéant* Merovingian kings and warring Mayors of the Palace having little power to enforce its obligations. The duke seems to have surrounded himself with seneschal and marischal and all the other satellites of

Garibald II, 611-660?

[1] See vol. v. p. 285.

[2] See vol. v. pp. 236–238, 281–287.

[3] 'Cum propter Francorum adventum perturbatis Garibaldo regi (*sic*) advenisset' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 30). Quitzmann's scepticism as to this 'perturbatio' of Garibald (p. 165) does not seem to me to be legitimate.

[4] Quitzmann assigns to Garibald II the years from 611 to 660, but admits that the latter date is conjectural.

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a sovereign prince, and his capital, Ratisbon on the Danube, doubtless outshone Paris and Metz in the eyes of his Bavarian subjects.

Theodo I, 660–722.

With the accession to the ducal throne of Theodo I[1] we gain a clearer vision of Bavarian affairs from the lives of the saints, Rupert, Emmeran, and Corbinian, who came from Gaul and from Ireland to effect the conversion of the people. It is indeed surprising to us who have witnessed the earnest zeal of the Bavarian Theudelinda, not merely for Christianity but for orthodoxy among her Italian subjects, to find that, two generations later, her own Bavarian countrymen still needed conversion. But apparently the Christianity of Garibald's court was not much more than a court fashion (the result very possibly of his own Frankish origin), and had not deeply leavened the mass of his subjects. Probably we are in the habit of under-estimating the stubbornness of the resistance of Teutonic heathenism to the new faith. When a tribe like the Franks or the Burgundians settled in the midst of a people already imbued with Christian ideas through their subjection to the Empire, it was comparatively easy to persuade them to renounce idolatry or to change the Arian form of Christianity for the Athanasian. But when the messengers of the Church had to deal with nations all Teutonic and all heathen, like the Frisians, the Saxons, or the Bavarians, the process of conversion (as we know from the history of our own forefathers) was much slower and more laborious. Thus it came to pass that in the middle of the seventh century the mass of the Bavarian folk were apparently

Missionary operations among the Bavarians.

[1] Probably a relation, possibly a son of Garibald II. The accession of Theodo may have taken place about 660. He died in 722.

still heathen, worshipping the mysterious goddess Nerthus[1], and venerating a statue of Irmin in the sacred wood, feasting on horse-flesh in the half-ruined temple which had perhaps once been dedicated to Jupiter or Isis[2], and offering, with drunken orgies, sacrifices of rams and goats beside the bier of their dead comrades, to commemorate their entrance into Walhalla.

Bishop Rupert.

Into this rude, more than half-Pagan world came towards the end of the seventh century[3] bishop Rupert or Hroudbert of Worms. His ancestry and birth-place are doubtful. Some have described him as sprung from Ireland, while others make him a Frank, of kin to the royal house of the Merovingians. He came into Bavaria, we are told, at the invitation of the duke, but probably also with the full consent if not at the actual suggestion of the great Frankish Mayor, Pippin of Heristal, who at this time not only by warlike expeditions but also by wise and politic counsels was tightening once more the loosened bonds which bound

[1] Or Hertha (see vol. v. p. 83).

[2] Quitzmann, p. 169.

[3] 'In the second year of Childebert, king of the Franks'; that is, evidently, Childebert III who came to the throne in 691. There have been extraordinary diversities of statement as to the date of Rupert's mission, some of the later chroniclers assigning it to 580, some even to 517; and the Childebert with whose reign he was contemporary has been taken accordingly for Childebert II or Childebert I. All this has worked necessarily great confusion in early Bavarian chronology: but the *Rupertus-frage*, as it is called, may now be considered to be closed. It is practically settled that he and the duke Theodo whom he baptized lived at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries, and were contemporary with Childebert III, who reigned from 695 to 711 (see Quitzmann, 209–230).

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the Bavarians as well as the other nations east of the Rhine to the Frankish kingdom[1].

Rupert's missionary operations.

At the outset of his operations Rupert baptized duke Theodo and then proceeded with the conversion of the heathen remnant of his people to Christianity, reconsecrating old temples which still bore the names we are told of Juno and Cybele, and dedicating them to the Virgin, and ever on the quest for some one place where he might found a monastery which he might make the centre of his missionary work. Not desirous apparently of too near neighbourhood to the ducal court at Ratisbon, he decided at last upon the little Waller See about seven miles from Salzburg, where he founded the monastery of the Church-by-the-Lake (See-Kirche). But not long had he dwelt here when the desolate ruins of the once stately Roman city of Juvavia attracted his notice. Still desolate, two centuries after that destruction which St. Severinus had foretold of them and the other cities of Noricum[2], they attracted and fascinated him by their mouldering greatness. He obtained from duke Theodo a grant of the old city and of the fort above, with twenty farms and twenty salt-pans at Reichenhall, eighty 'Romans' with their slaves, all the unoccupied lands in the district of Salzburg, and other rights and royalties. High up on that noble hill which still bears the name of the Monk's Mountain[3] Rupert reared his church, which he dedicated to St. Peter, and

He settles at Salzburg.

[1] 'Hinc Suavos et Bauwarios, Toringos et Saxones crebris irruptionibus frequentibusque proeliis contritos suae ditioni Pippinus subjugavit. . . . Harum etenim gentium obstinationem invictus Pippinus princeps crebris expeditionibus *utilissimisque consiliis* et frequentibus populationibus, Domino coöperante, compescuit.' Ann. Mettenses, s. a. 687.

[2] See vol. iii. p. 174 (158, 2nd edition).

[3] Mönchsberg.

founded there his monastery, which he put under the guidance of twelve young Franks, his disciples and fellow-countrymen. Such was the beginning of the great and rich bishopric of Salzburg.

Theodo divides his duchy with his sons.

It was probably about the time of Rupert's first missionary operations in Bavaria that duke Theodo, now past the middle of life, divided his duchy between himself and three of his sons [1]. Of these sons the only one of whom we hear anything important is Grimwald [2], whose capital was Freising, about twenty miles north-east of Munich, and who probably ruled over that part of Bavaria which lies between the Danube and the Alps.

Arrival of Bishop Emmeran.

Soon after this division of the duchy and about the time of the death of Pippin of Heristal, we may conjecturally place the appearance of the second great Frankish missionary in Bavaria, *Emmeran* of Poictiers: a meteoric appearance which heralded storm and was strangely quenched in darkness. Emmeran came, we are told, into Bavaria, intending only to traverse the country on his way to the barbarous Avars, of whom he desired to make proselytes. He came to the strongly fortified city of Ratisbon and stood before duke Theodo, but an interpreter was needed to mediate between the speech of Aquitaine and the speech of Bavaria. He explained to the duke the object of his mission, and Theodo replied, 'That land to which thou wouldest fain go, on the banks of the Ens, is lying all waste and

[1] So I understand the words of the biographer of Corbinian: 'Eo tempore Theodo dux . . . Provinciam ipsam *sibi et suboli ipsius* in quatuor partes divisit.'

[2] There was thus a Bavarian prince of this name besides the Frank and the Lombard.

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desolate, through the incursions of the Avars. Stay rather here, and I will make thee bishop in this province, or give thee the oversight of some abbey.' And Emmeran, learning that the conversion of the Bavarians was yet but half-accomplished and that they still blended their heathen sacrifices with the Supper of the Lord, was persuaded to stay in that fruitful land, whose inhabitants pleased him well, and he preached there during three years.

His tragic death.

Now Emmeran was a man of noble stature and comely face, generous both of speech and of money, and 'extraordinarily affable to women as well as to men': evidently a courtly bishop rather than an austere recluse. Unfortunately at the end of the three years the princess Ota, duke Theodo's daughter who had fallen into sin, accused the Frankish missionary as her seducer, and either through consciousness of guilt, or through unworldly carelessness as to his good name, he took no steps to clear himself of the charge. He left Bavaria indeed, but it was not to prosecute his journey to Avar-land, but to cross the Alps to Rome. A son of duke Theodo named Lantpert pursued after him, and having overtaken him ere he had reached the mountains, inflicted upon him the punishment of an incontinent slave, mutilation of the tongue, the hands and the feet. He died of his wounds, and the Church (which was persuaded of his innocence of the charge against him) reverenced him as a martyr.

Duke Theodo visits Rome, 716.

In the year 716, soon probably after the death of Emmeran, Theodo with a long train of dependants visited Rome to pray at the tomb of St. Peter[1]. As has been already suggested, the visit was probably

[1] See vol. vi. p. 440.

connected in some way with the terrible event which had preceded it, and it is possible that the reconciliation of the ducal family to the Pope may have been accomplished at the price of some concessions which made the Bavarian Church more dependent on the see of Rome [1]. BK. VIII. CH. 4.

Mission of Corbinian.

The third great Frankish missionary, Corbinian, was a man of hot and choleric temper; and he, like Emmeran, had his quarrels with the ducal house of Bavaria, though they did not for him end in such dire disaster. Born at a place called Castrus near Melun about the year 680, he was the son of a mother already widowed [2], who probably fostered her child's domineering and impetuous disposition. He seems also to have been a man of wealth and some social importance, and accordingly, when his genius took the direction of miracle-working and monastic austerity, the fame of his young saintliness easily penetrated the court and reached the ears of the aged Pippin of Heristal, who probably encouraged him to turn his energies to the building up of a Frankish-Christian Church in barbarous Bavaria. After fourteen years of retirement in his cell, he journeyed to Rome, 'in order to ask of the

[1] This interesting fact, the visit of duke Theodo to Rome, is mentioned by Paulus (H. L. vi. 44), but is apparently borrowed by him from the Liber Pontificalis (Vita Gregorii II): 'Theodo quippe dux gentis Baioariorum cum aliis gentis suae ad apostoli beati Petri limina orationis voto primus de gente eadem occurrit.' The last words are important as confirming the conclusion of recent scholars that the arrival of Rupert in Bavaria and the conversion of the mass of the people did not take place till the end of the seventh century.

[2] His father's name was Waldehisus (Teutonic); his mother's Corbiniana (Gallo-Roman ?).

BK. VIII. CH. 4. Pope permission to spend his life in solitude,' says his admiring biographer Aribo. But the Pope, we are told, perceiving his fitness for active work in the Church, and determined that he should not hide his light under a bushel, utterly refused to grant him the required permission to lead an anchorite's life, pushed him rapidly through all the lower grades of the hierarchy and consecrated him bishop, without however assigning him any definite see, so that he must have been looked upon as a bishop *in partibus*. After this consecration we are surprised to hear of his spending the next seven years in the cell of St. Germanus in his native place. This and some other suspicious circumstances of the story incline some scholars to believe that the whole tale of this earlier episcopate is a figment of the biographer.

After this interval of seven years Corbinian appears in Bavaria, intent, we are told, on undertaking a second journey to Rome [1]. He chose, says Aribo, 'the more secret way through Alamannia, Germany, and Noricum' [Bavaria], instead of taking 'the public road' from the regions of Gaul. Arrived in Bavaria he found there the devout Theodo, who had lately accomplished the partition of his duchy with his sons. The eldest survivor of these sons, Grimwald, eagerly welcomed the saint, and offered if he would remain to make him co-heir with his own children, doubtless only of his personal property. Corbinian however rejected this offer, and insisted on continuing his journey to Rome. Finding it impossible to change his purpose, Grimwald dismissed him with large presents and gave

[1] The date assigned by the Bollandists for this visit (717) appears to me more probable than Quitzmann's date (722).

him an honourable escort, but at the same time gave secret orders to the dwellers in the Vintschgau that on his return he should be arrested at the moment of his crossing the Bavarian frontier. We see at once that there is something more here than the biographer chooses to communicate. The Bavarian prince looks on the expected return of the great ecclesiastic from beyond the Alps with the same sort of feelings which induced Plantagenet princes to decree the penalties of *praemunire* against any one who should import into England bulls from Rome.

Corbinian accomplished his journey into Italy. He was ill-treated by Husingus, duke of Trient[1], who stole from him a beautiful stallion which he refused to sell, but was kindly received by king Liutprand at Pavia. He remained here seven days, chiefly occupied in preaching to the king, who listened with gladness to his copious eloquence. When he was leaving the capital he again had one of his horses stolen, by a Lombard courtier, whose dishonesty he detected and whose punishment he foretold. At last after divers adventures he reached Rome, and here, in spite of his entreaties and his tears, the Pope (probably Gregory II[2]) ordered him once more to abjure a life of solitude and to undertake active ecclesiastical work. On his return he again visited Pavia, and on his arrival at that place the first object that met his gaze was the body of the Lombard nobleman who had stolen his horse laid upon a bier

[1] Aribo calls Husingus *comes*, but we are probably safe in rendering this 'duke.'

[2] Aribo makes the Pope who received Corbinian on his *first* visit Gregory II, but this, as the Bollandist commentator points out, is probably a mistake for Constantine.

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and carried forth to burial. The horse was restored, and the widow of the culprit, grovelling at the saint's feet, besought him to accept 200 *solidi* (£120), which her husband on his death-bed had ordered her to pay as the penalty of his crime [1].

With a long train of horses and servants Corbinian now took his journey up the valley of the Adige in order to return into Bavaria by the pass of the Brenner. Scarcely, however, had he entered the Bavarian territory when by Grimwald's orders he was arrested at Castrum Magense [2].

Carbinian's dispute with duke Grimwald.

And now we hear something more of the cause of Grimwald's fear of the holy man. The Bavarian duke had married a young Frankish lady of noble birth named Piltrudis, who was the widow of his brother Theudebald. Against this kind of union, as we know, Rome uttered strong though not always irrevocable protests, and it was possibly from fear of Corbinian's bringing across the Alps a bull of excommunication of the guilty pair that Grimwald had given orders for his arrest on entering the duchy. However, after a struggle, the details of which are very obscurely given, Corbinian obtained a temporary victory. Grimwald obeyed the order of the saint, backed as he probably was by the Frankish *Major Domus*, and within the specified time of forty days put away Piltrudis.

It is needless to say that the divorced wife, who is looked upon by the ecclesiastical historians as another

[1] Probably this was the *octogild*, or eightfold composition, over and above the return of the article stolen, which was prescribed by the Lombard law (see vol. vi. p. 211). If so, the estimated value of the horse was 25 solidi.

[2] Mais near Meran.

Herodias, was full of resentment against the author of her disgrace and vowed to compass his downfall. If we read the story rightly, the saint's own choleric temper—even his biographer confesses that he was easily roused to anger by vice, though ready to forgive [1]—aided her designs.

One day when Corbinian was reclining at the table with the duke he made the sign of the cross over the food set before him, at the same time giving praise to God. But the prince took a piece of bread and thoughtlessly threw it to a favourite hound. Thereat the man of God was so enraged that he kicked over the three-legged table on which the meal was spread and scattered all the silver dishes on the floor. Then starting up from his seat he said, 'The man is unworthy of so great a blessing who is not ashamed to cast it to dogs.' Then he stalked out of the house, declaring that he would never again eat or drink with the prince nor visit his court.

Some time after this there was another and more violent outbreak of the saint's ill-temper. Riding forth one day from the royal palace he met a woman who, as he was told, had effected the cure of one of the young princes by art-magic. At this he trembled with fury, and leaping from his horse he assaulted the woman with his fists, took from her the rich rewards for the cure which she was carrying away from the palace, and ordered them to be distributed among the poor. The beaten and plundered sorceress, who was perhaps only a skilful female physician, presented herself in Grimwald's hall of audience with face still bleeding from the saintly fists, and clamoured for redress. Piltrudis, who

[1] 'Contra vitia ad irascendum facilis, velox ad ignoscendum conversis.'

BK. VIII. CH. 4. seems to have returned to her old position, seconded her prayer, and Corbinian was banished from the ducal presence. He had already received from his patron a grant of the place upon which he had set his heart, Camina, about five miles north of Meran in the Tyrol, with its arable land, its vineyards, its meadows, and a large tract of the Rhaetian Alps behind it, and thither he retired to watch for the fulfilment of the prophecies which he had uttered against the new Ahab and Jezebel.

Death of Grimwald, 729.

The longed-for vindication came partly from foreign arms, partly from domestic treachery. It is possible that Grimwald had to meet a combined invasion both from the north and from the south, for, as Paulus Diaconus informs us, Liutprand, king of the Lombards, 'in the beginning of his reign took many places from the Bavarians.' This may be the record of some warlike operations undertaken in the troublous years which followed the death of old duke Theodo (722), and may point to some attempt on the part of the Lombard king, who had married the niece of Grimwald, to vindicate the claims of her brother Hucpert, whom Grimwald seems to have excluded from the inheritance of his father's share in the duchy. This however is only conjecture, and as Liutprand came to the throne in 712 it is not perhaps a very probable one[1]. But it is certain that in 725 the great Frankish Mayor, Charles Martel, entered the Bavarian duchy, possibly to support the claims of Hucpert, but doubtless also in order to rivet anew the chain of allegiance which bound Bavaria to the Frankish monarchy[2]. In 728 he

[1] Since 725 could hardly be called 'the beginning of his reign.'

[2] Annales Laubacenses, s. a. 725: 'Carlus primum fuit in Bawerias.' Annales Petaviani: 'Karolus primum fuit in Bawarios.'

again invaded the country[1], and this invasion was speedily followed by the death of Grimwald (729). He was slain by conspirators[2] says the biographer of Corbinian, who adds, with pious satisfaction, that all his sons, 'deprived of the royal dignity, with much tribulation gave up the breath of life[3];' but it is probable that all these events were connected with the blow to Grimwald's semi-regal state which had been dealt by Charles the Hammer.

Charles Martel marries the Bavarian princess Swanahild.

After one of his invasions of Bavaria, perhaps the first[4] of the two, Charles Martel carried back with him into Frankland two Bavarian princesses, Piltrudis, the 'Herodias' of Corbinian's denunciations, and her niece Swanahild, sister of Hucpert. The latter lady became, after the fashion adopted by these lax moralists of the Carolingian line, first the mistress and afterwards the wife of her captor, and she with the son Grifo whom she bare to Charles caused in after years no small trouble to the Frankish state.

Hucpert, duke of Bavaria, 729-737.

The result of this overthrow of Grimwald was the establishment on the Bavarian throne of his nephew Hucpert, son of Theudebert, brother-in-law of Liutprand the Lombard and Charles the Frank, who ruled for eight uneventful years, at peace apparently with his

[1] Annales Sancti Amandi, s. a. 728: 'Iterum Karlus fuit in Baioaria.' Annales Tiliani: 'Karolus secunda vice pugnavit in Baioaria.'

[2] 'Ab insidiatoribus interfectus est.'

[3] 'Cum multa tribulatione regno privati vitalem amiserunt flatum.'

[4] The date of the birth of Grifo, who was old enough in 741 to play a part in politics, seems to necessitate this supposition, though one might have rather expected Piltrudis's captivity to take place after the second invasion and the utter collapse of Grimwald's power.

nominal overlord the Merovingian king and his mighty deputy. On his death in 737 the vacant dignity was given to his cousin Otilo [1], who ruled for eleven years (737–748), and to whom Charles Martel gave his daughter Hiltrudis in marriage.

Otilo, 737-748.

Boniface's missionary labours in Bavaria.

The reign of Otilo was chiefly memorable for the reorganisation of the Bavarian Church by the labours of an Anglo-Saxon missionary, the great archbishop Boniface. The offshoot of Roman Christianity planted in Britain by direction of Gregory the Great had now at last, after much battling with the opposition both of heathenism and of Celtic Christianity, taken deep root and was overspreading the land. It is not too much to say that in the eighth century the most learned and the most exemplary ecclesiastics in the whole of Western Christendom were to be found among those Anglian and Saxon islanders whose not remote ancestors had been the fiercest of Pagan idolaters. But precisely because they were such recent converts and because the question between the Celtic Christianity of Iona and the Roman Christianity of Canterbury had long hung doubtful in the scale, were these learned, well-trained ecclesiastics among the most enthusiastic champions of the supremacy of the Roman see. To us who know what changes the years have brought, it seems a strange inversion of their parts to find the Celtic populations of Ireland and the Hebrides long resisting, and at last only with sullenness accepting, the Papal mandates, while a sturdy Englishman such as Boniface almost anticipates Loyola in his devotion to

[1] The place of Otilo in the Agilolfing genealogy is doubtful. Quitzmann conjectures that he may have been the son of Tassilo II and grandson of Theodo I.

the Pope, or Xavier in his eagerness to convert new nations to the Papal obedience.

Born at Crediton in Devonshire about 775, and the son of noble parents, the young Wynfrith (for that was his baptismal name), after spending some years in a Hampshire monastery and receiving priest's orders, determined to set forth as a missionary to the lands beyond the Rhine, in order to complete the work which had been began by his fellow-countryman Willibrord. With his work in Frisia and Thuringia we have here no concern. We hasten on to a visit, apparently a second visit, which he paid to Rome about the year 722 when he had already reached middle life. It was on this occasion probably that he assumed the name of Bonifatius[1]; and at the same time he took an oath of unqualified obedience to the see of Rome, the same which was taken by the little suburbicarian bishops of the Campagna, save that they bound themselves to loyal obedience to 'the most pious Prince and the Republic[2],' an obligation which Boniface in his contemplated wanderings over central Europe, free from all connection with Imperial Constantinople or with the civic community of Rome, refused to take upon himself. His eager obedience was rewarded by a circular letter from the Pope calling on all Christian men to aid the missionary efforts of 'our most reverend brother Boniface,' now consecrated

[1] Bonifatius, not Bonifacius, says Dahn (Urgeschichte, iii. 763); 'good speaker,' not 'good doer' (or ? fair-faced one).

[2] 'Promittens pariter, quia, si quid contra rempublicam vel piissimum Principem nostrum quodlibet agi cognovero, minime consentire' are the omitted words. The full form is found in the Liber Diurnus, lxxv (p. 79 ed. Sichel). This important omission is pointed out by Breysig, Die Zeit Karl Martells (p. 42, n. 6).

bishop *in partibus infidelium*, and setting forth to convert those nations in Germany and on the eastern bank of the Rhine who were still worshipping idols and living in the shadow of death. At the same time a letter of commendation addressed to the Pope's 'glorious son duke Charles' obtained from Charles Martel a letter under his hand and seal addressed to 'all bishops, dukes, counts, vicars, lesser officers, agents and friends [1],' warning them that bishop Boniface was now under the *mundeburdium* [2] of the great Mayor, and that if any had cause of complaint against him it must be argued before Charles in person.

As has been already observed, the protection thus granted by the mighty Austrasian to the Anglo-Saxon missionary powerfully aided his efforts for the Christianisation of Germany. The terror of the Frankish arms, as well as a certain vague desire to watch the issue of the conflict between Christ and Odin, may have kept the Hessian idolaters tranquil while the elderly Boniface struck his strong and smashing blows at the holy oak of Geismar. At any rate, true-hearted and courageous preachers of the faith as were Boniface and the multitude of his fellow-countrymen and fellow-countrywomen who crossed the seas to aid his great campaign, it is clear that the fortunes of that spiritual campaign did in some measure ebb and flow with the varying fortunes of the Frankish arms east of the Rhine.

Some time after the death of Gregory II Boniface again

[1] This letter is addressed to the above dignitaries and also to 'omnibus agentibus junioribus nostris seu *missis decurrentibus*,' an interesting anticipation of the *missi dominici* of Charles the Great (Ep. 42).

[2] Personal protection: compare the Lombard *mundium* of a female, a client, or a slave (see vol. vi. pp. 180, 197–205, 207).

visited Rome (about 737) and received, apparently at this time, from Gregory III the dignity of Archbishop and a commission to set in order the affairs of the Church in Bavaria. In fulfilling this commisson he must have had the entire support of the then reigning duke Otilo; but it is not so certain that he was still acting in entire harmony with the Frankish Mayor. We have seen that after his death the memory of Charles Martel was subjected to a process the very opposite of canonisation, and there are some indications that at this time the obedient Otilo of Bavaria was looked upon at Rome with more favour than the too independent Mayor of the Palace who refused to help the Pope against his brother-in-law the king of the Lombards[1]. However this may be, it is clear that Boniface accomplished in Bavaria something not far short of a spiritual revolution. He had been instructed by the Pope to root out the erroneous teaching of false and heretical priests and of intruding Britons[2]. The latter clause must be intended for the yet unreconciled missionaries of the Celtic Church. Is it possible that the Frankish emissaries were also looked upon with somewhat of suspicion, that the work of the Emmerans and Corbinians was only half approved at Rome, even as the life of Boniface certainly shines out in favourable contrast with the ill-regulated lives of those strange preachers of the Gospel?

Papal letter to Boniface.

'Therefore,' says the Pope to the Archbishop, 'since you have informed us that you have gone to the

[1] Vol. vi. p. 476.

[2] 'Et gentilitatis ritum et doctrinam vel venientium Brittonum vel falsorum sacerdotum hereticorum sive adulteros aut undecunque sint rennuentes ac prohibentes abjiciatis.' Ep. 44 apud M. G. H. p. 292.

Bavarian nation and have found them living outside the order of the Church, since they had no bishops in the Church save one named Vivilo [bishop of Passau], whom we ordained long ago, and since with the assent of Otilo, duke of the same Bavaria, and of the nobles of the province you have ordained three more bishops and have divided that province into four *parrochiae*, of which each bishop is to keep one, you have done well and wisely, my brother, since you have fulfilled the apostolic precept in our stead. Therefore cease not, most reverend brother, to teach them the holy Catholic and Apostolic tradition of the Roman see, that those rough men may be enlightened and may hold the way of salvation whereby they may arrive at eternal rewards.'

Here then at the end of the fourth decade of the eighth century we leave the great Anglo-Saxon archbishop uprooting the last remnants of heathenism which his predecessors had allowed to grow up alongside of the rites of Christianity; forbidding the eating of horse-flesh, the sacrifices for the dead, and the more ghastly sacrifices of the living for which even so-called Christian men had dared to sell their slaves; everywhere working for civilisation and Christianity, but doubtless at the same time working to bring all things into more absolute dependence on the see of Rome. In him we see the founder, perhaps the unconscious founder, of that militant and lavishly endowed Churchmanship which found its expression later on in the great Elector-Bishoprics of the Rhine. We shall meet again in future chapters both with Boniface and with the Dukes of Bavaria.

CHAPTER V.

THE GREAT RENUNCIATION.

Sources:—

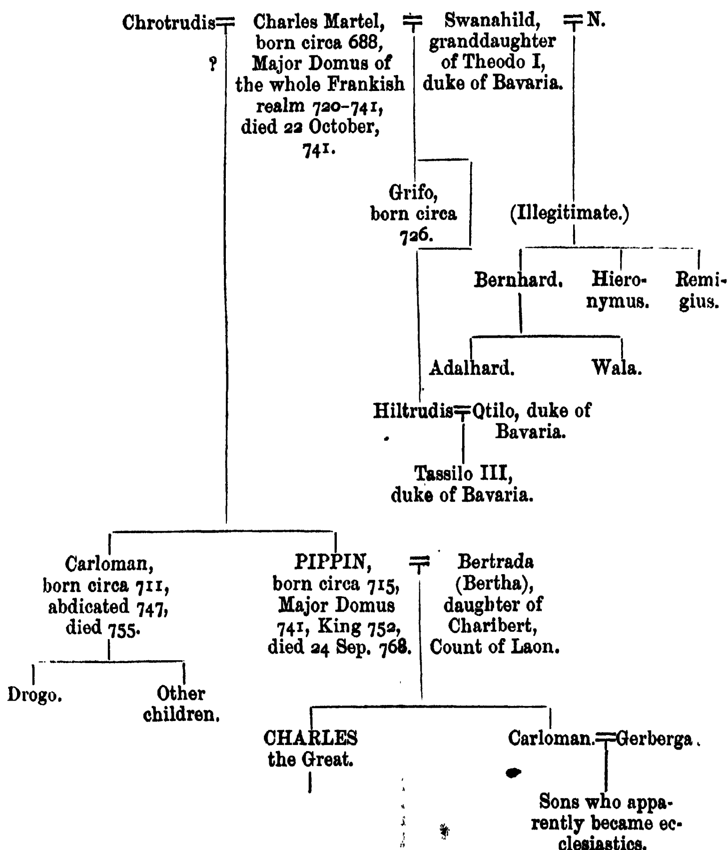
Our chief source for the remaining portion of this volume will be the FRANKISH ANNALS, especially the two chronicles known as ANNALES LAURISSENSES and ANNALES EINHARDI (published in Pertz's 'Monumenta,' vol. i).

With the assumption of the royal title by a member of the Arnulfing line in 752 a new spirit seems to have come over the Frankish chroniclers. Under the depressing sway of the Merovingian fainéants, with the vessel of the state going to pieces before their eyes, the few men in the kingdom who could write seem to have been careless about preserving for a posterity which might never be born the records of a present which had in it no germs of hope for the future. This pessimist outlook on the world may have been somewhat changed by the victorious career of Charles Martel, but that stout warrior was too busy fighting the heathen and the infidel to think of providing himself with a chronicler of his deeds, and when the Muse of History found her favourite home in the convent and the chapter-house, Charles's policy of rewarding his most valiant generals with abbacies and prelacies was not likely to favour her inspirations.

That his grandson the greatest Charles loved the companionship of men of letters, and desired to have his deeds recorded by them, is abundantly evident. That Pippin, the intermediate link, was also a patron of learned men is probable, but is not quite so clearly proved. What is certain is, that from his and

GENEALOGY OF ARNULFINGS

(CHARLES MARTEL TO CHARLES THE GREAT).



his brother's accession to the Mayoralty we discover an entirely new phase of Frankish history. Instead of the meagre and unsatisfactory notices of the Continuer of 'Fredegarius' we have now tolerably full accounts of the events of each year, recorded in language which is at first rough and barbarous, but which after the lapse of a generation becomes almost grammatical.

The ANNALES LAURISSENSES[1] were so named by Pertz because the oldest MS. of them was found in the monastery of Lorsch, about twelve miles from Heidelberg, and it was suggested that they had been written by an inmate of that convent, a suggestion which, as we shall see, has not met with universal acceptance. They embrace the period from 741 to 829, and give for the most part a clear and intelligible annalistic sketch of the course of events, showing however a marked partiality for the great Frankish kings, and sometimes almost dishonestly concealing their military reverses. They are generally very particular in marking the places where Pippin and Charles kept Christmas and Easter. A favourite phrase at the end of each year is, 'Et immutavit se series annorum in annum DCCXLII,' or whatever the new year might be.

I. From internal evidence it seems clear that part of the first section of these annals, from 741 to 788, was not composed year by year contemporaneously with the events described. It was probably all compiled at the end of that time from trustworthy sources accessible to the writer, especially the two chronicles known as ANNALES S. AMANDI and ANNALES PETAVIANI, which in their turn may have been built upon an earlier MS. written in the convent of St. Martin at Cologne.

From 788 to 797 the annals are probably more strictly contemporaneous. The compiler of 788, whoever he may have been, seems to continue his work from year to year with a constant effort after greater purity of style, and with very full information, derived from men high in authority, as to the course of events.

The question arises, Who was probably the author of these annals? Pertz's theory that they were the composition of a mere monk in the monastery of Lorsch was energetically combated, as early as 1854, by the great historian von Ranke, who argued that the knowledge of state affairs and the general grasp of

[1] Full title, 'Annales Laurissenses Majores.'

historical fact contained in these annals were greater than could be reasonably looked for within the walls of any convent. He looked upon them therefore as in some sort the official chronicle of the Frankish kingdom, and proposed to call them *Reichs-Annalen.* This view was opposed by Sybel, but defended by Simson, Giesebrecht, Abel, Harnack and others; and, on the whole, the Reichs-Annalen theory must be considered to have triumphed. If however, for the earlier years, the Annales Laurissenses rest, as Giesebrecht thinks, on the Annales S. Amandi and Petaviani, we seem so far brought back to the convent theory of the origin of the Laurissenses, as it is apparently admitted that those two chronicles are of monastic origin.

W. Giesebrecht (in an article on 'die Fränkischen Königs-Annalen und ihr Ursprung') calls attention to the specially Bavarian character of the notices in the Annales Laurissenses, to the date of their first compilation, 788, the year of the deposition of Duke Tassilo, and to their persistent and bitter hostility to Tassilo's wife Liutperga; and he argues that this part of the work was probably composed by Arno, bishop of Salzburg. On the other hand, S. Abel (Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs, i. 657-664) argues from the character of the Latinity of this first section that it must have been written by a Roman, and probably by an official of the papal *curia.* Both these opposing theories seem to me to belong to the region of pure conjecture.

II. The second part of the Annals, extending from (about) 797 to 813, which is written in much better Latin than the first, shows considerable affinity in style and thought with Einhard's *Vita Caroli*, and on the whole the weight of opinion seems to incline to the side of attributing this portion of the work to his authorship.

III. The third part, 813 to 829, lies beyond our present horizon. It may be stated, however, that this is the only part of the work which has any documentary title (and that a slender one) to be associated with the name of Einhard. The compiler of the *Translatio S. Sebastiani* (a writer of the ninth century) calls Einhard the author of a book of Annals entitled '*Gesta Caesarum Caroli Magni et filii ejus Hludowici,*' and quotes from it a passage which is found in these Annals under the year 826. There are however strong reasons (especially in connection with

the annalist's manner of speaking about miracles) which militate against this theory. These reasons are well stated by W. Giesebrecht (Münchner Historisches Jahrbuch (1865), p. 213). BK. VIII. CH. 5.

Thus it will be seen that considerable doubt hangs over the question of the authorship of these Annals. The official or semi-official character of at any rate the later portions of the work may now be considered as fairly well established: and all the almost endless debates about the exact personality of their authors should not obscure the fact that we have here a most valuable, practically contemporary and generally trustworthy authority for the reigns of Pippin and Charles the Great.

All that has been said about Annales Laurissenses, and something more, may be said about the so-called ANNALES EINHARDI: for these are evidently the Laurissenses themselves, worked over by some writer who has a better knowledge of grammar and a rather higher conception of the duties of a historian. Thus under the year 775 he tells us of a defeat of the Franks by the Saxons, and under 778 he describes the disaster of Roncesvalles, both of which are omitted by the authors of the Laurissenses. Moreover, under 741 he adds some interesting details as to the rebellion of Grifo, and under 782, 791, and 793 he gives us information concerning a certain Count Theodoric, a relation of Charles, with whom this author seems to have been brought specially in contact. All this points to some man of high position and character in Charles's court as the probable author, and it is not surprising that the name of Einhard should have occurred to scholars and been adopted by the editor of the Monumenta. There are however considerable difficulties in this theory, chiefly arising out of the relation of these Annals to the acknowledged work of Einhard, the *Vita Caroli*[1], and on the whole it is to be regretted that a 'question-begging' title such as *Einhardi Annales* should have been given to this performance. Better to label a manuscript by a number or the name of its discoverer than to give it a title resting on unproved assumptions, which may mislead future enquirers[2].

The two chronicles just mentioned are decidedly our most important authorities for the period before us, but some of the

[1] These difficulties are insisted on by W. Giesebrecht, pp. 217-219.

[2] A notable instance is furnished by the title 'The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews.'

others must be briefly noticed, as their names may be occasionally quoted in the following pages[1].

ANNALES LAURISSENSES MINORES are undoubtedly connected with the monastery of Lorsch, as they speak (under the dates 767 and 776) of 'monasterio nostro Laureshami,' but they are not of much original value. From 680 to 752 they are simply an abstract of 'Fredegarius' and his continuer. From 752 to 788 they are generally in correspondence with the Laurissenses Majores. From 789 to 806 they are believed to be compiled from Lauresshamenses (see below) and Laurissenses Majores. From 806 to 817, where they end, they are thought to be (at any rate in the Fulda Codex) independent and with some local colour.

A much more important chronicle, though meagre and devoid of all literary form, is the ANNALES MOSELLANI[2]. These annals, which extend from 703 to 797, are undoubtedly of early origin. Lappenberg, who discovered them in St. Petersburg, gave them their name on account of their supposed relation to certain convents on the upper Moselle of which they make frequent mention. W. Giesebrecht assigns them to the monastery of St. Martin at Cologne, where there was a community of Scoto-Irish monks, established by Pippin 'of Heristal.' Their notices of the leading events, campaigns, *placita*, deaths, are exceedingly brief, but apparently trustworthy.

Upon them, chiefly, are founded the ANNALES S. AMANDI. The monastery of St. Amandus was situated at Elnon in Hainault, in the heart of the Arnulfing territory; and, as might be expected, this chronicle is devoted to the interests of the great Austrasian Mayors. It begins in 687 with Pippin 'of Heristal's' victory at Textri, but the regular notices do not begin till 708, and even then are often very short, and perhaps not always strictly contemporary. They end with the year 810.

ANNALES PETAVIANI (so named from a former possessor of the MS.) reach from 708 to 799. From 708 to 771 they do little more than combine Ann. S. Amandi and Mosellani. From 771 to 799 they give a full, contemporary and apparently

[1] The following notices are chiefly derived from *Wattenbach* (Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter).

[2] In the sixteenth volume of Pertz's Monumenta. Most of the others will be found in the first volume.

independent history of events. They were probably begun in a Swabian convent and continued at Gorze (near Metz).

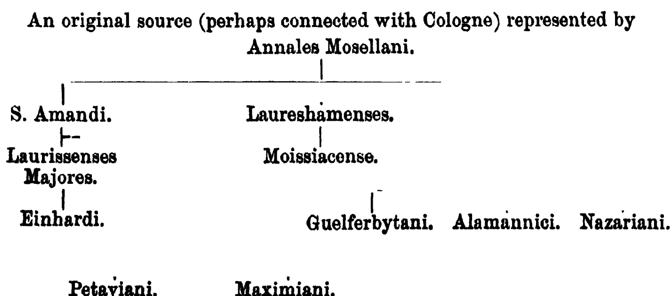
ANNALES LAURESHAMENSES (named, like the Laurissenses, with doubtful propriety, from the monastery of Lorsch) are in fact a continuation, or rather two continuations, of Ann. Mosellani, reaching from 797 to 803 and 806 respectively. The former only is of any independent value[1].

Closely connected herewith is the CHRONICON MOISSIACENSE, which seems to have had its origin in Aquitaine, and is therefore of some value for the affairs of southern Gaul. It rests mainly on the Ann. Laureshamenses, but carries on the history to the year 818.

ANNALES MAXIMIANI include the period from 710 to 811, are apparently also founded on Ann. Mosellani, and have some kinship with Petaviani.

ANNALES GUELFERBYTANI (or the Wolfenbüttel Codex), (741–805), ALAMANNICI (741–799), NAZARIANI (741–790), are all also founded on Mosellani, and are closely related to one another. Their sometimes corresponding, sometimes varying histories of events between 771 and 799 are the points most deserving of study in these codices. Guelferbytani seem to be connected with the monastery of Murbach in the district of the Vosges, as they record with care the succession of its abbots.

The filiation of these various sets of annals is approximately represented in the following diagram: but of course the derived chronicles generally contain a good deal of matter in the shape of continuations or otherwise which is not to be found in the parent manuscript.



[1] Though the Ann. Laureshamenses are not a very important authority, we must be careful not to confuse them with the *Chronicon Laureshamense*,

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Though in no sense a contemporary (since he died a century after Charlemagne), the work of the historian REGINO ought to be noticed here. He was chosen abbot of Prüm in 892, and ruled that celebrated monastery till 899, when the intrigues of his enemies obliged him to abandon his position and retire to Trier, where he spent the remainder of his days, dying in 915. Ratbod, archbishop of Trier, became his intimate friend, and encouraged him to occupy the enforced leisure of his exile in writing history. This he did on the large scale which became common in the Middle Ages, beginning with the creation of the world and coming down to the year 906. It is of course chiefly for the latter half of the ninth century that his work has any historical value. In our period he draws his materials principally from the Frankish annalists, especially the Annales Laurissenses, whom we prefer to consult at first hand, but occasionally, as in the story of Carloman's life at Monte Cassino, he preserves to us some popular tradition, perhaps of no great historical value, which nevertheless seems to illustrate the thoughts and feelings of the age.

Guide :—

Heinrich *Hahn*, in his 'Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs, 741–752' (Berlin, 1863), continues the valuable series of which Bonnell and Breysig have written the earlier volumes.

THE five years from 740 to 744 may be said to mark the close of a generation, for during that short period the thrones of Constantinople and of Pavia, the Frankish mayoralty and the Roman papacy, were all vacated by death.

a twelfth-century compilation from various sources (published in the twenty-first volume of Pertz's Monumenta), which is for our period of no authority at all. It is important to notice this, because the scandalous fiction about Einhard's intrigue with the princess Emma has been propagated on the sole authority of this quite untrustworthy writer.

Annales Laurissenses Majores, Annales Laurissenses Minores, Annales Laureshamenses, Chronicon Laureshamense: here are abundant materials for the bewilderment of historical students accumulated by the perverse ingenuity of editors.

Death of Leo III, 740.

On the 18th of June, 740[1], died the great Iconoclast Emperor, Leo the Third, after a reign of twenty-four years, marked by many great calamities, by earthquake, pestilence and civil war, but also by legal reforms, by a fresh bracing up of the energies of the state both for administration and for war, by the repulse of a menacing attack of the Saracens on Constantinople, and by a great victory over their army gained by the Emperor in person in the uplands of Phrygia. Leo III was succeeded by his son Constantine V, to whom the ecclesiastical writers of the image-worshipping party have affixed a foul nickname[2], and whose memory they have assailed with even fiercer invective than that of his father. He was undoubtedly a harsh and overbearing man, who carried through his father's image-breaking policy with as little regard for the consciences of those who differed from him as was shown by a Theodosius or a Justinian, but he was also a brave soldier and an able ruler, one of the men who by their rough vigour restored the fainting energies of the Byzantine state. While he was absent in Asia Minor continuing his father's campaigns against the Saracens, his brother-in-law, the Armenian Artavasdus, grasped at the diadem, and by the help of the image-worshipping party succeeded in maintaining himself in power for nearly three years; but Constantine, who had been at first obliged to fly for his life, received steadfast and loyal

Emperor Constantine V, 740-775.

[1] The ordinarily received date is 741, but Bury (History of the Later Roman Empire, ii. 425) has produced strong arguments in favour of 740. The question is whether the Year of the World or the Indiction as stated by Theophanes is to be accepted as accurate. Both cannot be right, unless, as urged by Bury, a change had taken place in the mode of reckoning the Indictions.

[2] Copronymus.

BK. VIII. CH. 5. support from the troops quartered in the Anatolic theme[1], and by their aid won two decisive victories over his rival. After a short siege of Constantinople he was again installed in the imperial palace, and celebrated his triumph by chariot races in the Hippodrome, at which Artavasdus and his two sons, bound with chains, were exposed to the derision of the populace[2]. With this short interruption the reign of Constantine V lasted for thirty-five years (740–775), a period during which memorable events were taking place in Western Europe.

Election of Pope Zacharias, 741–752.

On the 10th of December, 741, Pope Gregory II died and was succeeded (as has been already stated[3]) by Zacharias, whose pontificate lasted for more than ten years[4]. The new Pope, like so many of his predecessors, was a Greek: in fact, for some reason which it is not easy to discern, it was a rare thing at this time for the bishop of Rome to be of Roman birth[5]. Among the more important events of his pontificate were those interviews with Liutprand at Terni (742) and at Pavia (29 June, 743) which resulted in the surrender of the

[1] Nearly corresponding to the 'Phrygia' of earlier centuries.

[2] It is noteworthy that two letters from Pope Zacharias to Boniface (57 and 58 in M. G. H.) are dated in the third year of 'domnus piissimus augustus a Deo coronatus Artavasdus' and of his son Nicephorus. These letters must, on any theory of their date, have been written a considerable time after the deposition of Artavasdus, but the Pope either had not heard the news or refused to recognise the validity of the deposition.

[3] See vol. vi. p. 480.

[4] 10 Dec. 741 to 22 March, 752.

[5] Döllinger (Die Papst-Fabeln, p. 79) points out that of the ten Popes between 685 and 741, five were Syrians (John V, Sergius, Sisinnius, Constantine, and Gregory III), four were Greeks (Conon, John VI, John VII, and Zacharias), and only one a Roman (Gregory II).

Lombard conquests in Etruria, the Sabine territory, and the district round Ravenna, and which have been fully described in an earlier volume [1]. But far the most important act of the papacy of Zacharias was that consent which near the close of his life he gave to the change of the royal dynasty of the Franks, a transaction which will form the subject of the following chapter.

Carloman and Pippin joint Mayors of the Franks, 741.

Two months before this change in the wearer of the papal tiara had come that vacancy in the office of the Frankish mayoralty which, as before stated, was caused by the death of Charles Martel at Carisiacum (October 21, 741).

Two sons, Carloman and Pippin, the issue of his first marriage [2], inherited the greater part of the vast states which were now practically recognised as the dominions of the great *Major Domus*, who for the last four years had been ruling without even the pretence of a Merovingian shadow-king above him [3]. Of these two young men, Carloman, the eldest, was probably about thirty, Pippin about twenty-seven when they became possessed of supreme power by the death of their father [4]. As far as we can discern anything of their respective characters from the scanty indications in the chronicles, Carloman seems to have been the more impulsive and passionate, but perhaps also the more generous, and, in the deeper sense of the word, the more religious of the two brothers. Pippin

[1] See vol. vi. pp. 491–497.

[2] Charles Martel's first wife was probably, though not certainly, named Chrotrudis (Hahn, p. 2).

[3] Theodoric IV died in 737.

[4] Carloman's birth-year is very uncertain. Pippin was probably born between December 714 and September 715 (Hahn, p. 2).

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seems to have been of calmer mood, clement and placable, a good friend to the Church, but also a man who from beginning to end had a pretty keen sense of that which would make for his own advantage in this world or the next.

In the division of the inheritance, Carloman, as the elder son, received all the Austrasian lands, the stronghold of the Arnulfing family, together with Swabia and Thuringia. To Pippin fell as his share Neustria, Burgundy, and the reconquered land of Provence. That Bavaria in the east and Aquitaine in the west are omitted in the recital of this division is a striking proof of the still half-independent condition of those broad territories.

Grifo, son of Charles Martel by Swanahild.

But besides several confessedly illegitimate sons of the late *Major Domus*, there was one who both by his mother's almost royal birth and by the fact of her marriage (possibly after his birth) to Charles Martel had some claim, not altogether shadowy, to share in the inheritance. This was Grifo, son of the Bavarian princess Swanahild, at the time of his father's death a lad of about fifteen. Already during Charles Martel's lifetime Swanahild appears to have played the part of a turbulent wife, and in league with Gairefrid, count of Paris, to have actually barred her husband out of his Neustrian capital and appropriated some part of the revenues of the great abbey of S. Denis [1]. Either the turbulence of the rebellious or the blandishments

[1] See Hahn (p. 17) and Dahn (Urgeschichte, iii. 829), who both rely on a petition from the abbot and monks of S. Denis (in Bouquet, v. 699–700) which contains these words, 'ante hos annos quando Carlus fuit ejectus per Soanachilde cupiditate et Gairefredo Parisius comite insidiante per eorum consensu (*sic*).'

of the reconciled wife appear to have so far prevailed with the dying Mayor of the Palace that he left to the young Grifo a principality in the centre of his dominions carved out of the three contiguous states, Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy[1]. But almost immediately on Charles's death the discord between Swanahild's son and his brothers burst into a flame. Whether Grifo took the initiative, occupied Laon by a *coup de main*, and declared war on his brothers aiming at the exclusive possession of the whole realm, or whether the Franks, hating Swanahild and her son, rose in armed protest against this division of the realm and blockaded Grifo in his own city of Laon, we cannot determine[2]. In either case the result was the same: Laon surrendered, Grifo was taken captive, and handed over to the custody of Carloman, who for six years kept him a close prisoner at 'the New Castle' near the Ardennes[3]. Swanahild was sent to the convent of Chelles[4], where she probably ended her days.

Death of Liutprand, 746.

A little more than two years after the death of Charles Martel, in January, 744, his brother-in-law Liutprand, king of the Lombards, also departed this life[5]. The papal biographer who records the death of a wise and patriotic king with unholy joy attributes it to the prayers of Pope Zacharias, calumniating, as we may surely believe, that eminent pontiff, who had

[1] The story of this partition in favour of Grifo is told us only by the Annales Mettenses, by no means our best authority.

[2] The former is the account of the matter given by Einhardi Annales: the latter by the Annales Mettenses.

[3] Neuf-Château in Belgian Luxemburg.

[4] Founded by the *fainéant* king Theodoric IV: nine miles to the east of Paris.

[5] See vol. vi. p. 498.

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received many favours from Liutprand, and who seems also to have been a man of kindlier temper than many Popes, and still more than the Papal biographers.

Short reign of Hildeprand.

On the death of Liutprand, his nephew and the partner of his throne, Hildeprand, succeeded of course to the undivided sovereignty. That unhelpful[1] prince, however, whose whole career corresponded too closely with the ill omen which marked his accession[2], was after little more than half a year dethroned by his discontented subjects[3]. In his stead Ratchis, the brave duke of Friuli, son of Pemmo victor of the Sclovenic invaders and hero of the fight at the bridge over the Metaurus, was chosen king of the Lombards[4]. His accession appears to have taken place in the latter part of September, 744. What became of his dethroned rival we know not, but the silence of historians is ominous as to his fate.

Election of Ratchis, 744.

Truce between Ratchis and Rome.

Immediately on his accession Ratchis concluded a truce with Pope Zacharias, or rather perhaps with the civil governor of the *Ducatus Romae*, which was to last for twenty years: and in fact the relations between Roman and Lombard were peaceable ones during almost the whole of his short reign. But now that we have lost the guidance of Paulus Diaconus—an irreparable loss for this period—it is practically impossible to continue the narrative in the court of the Lombard kings. History will insist in concerning herself chiefly with the actions

[1] 'Inutilis.'

[2] See vol. vi. p. 473.

[3] The Liber Pontificalis gives Hildeprand only six months' reign, but the documents quoted by Bethmann (Neues Archiv, iii. 265) show that there was an interval of seven or eight months between Liutprand's death and the accession of Ratchis.

[4] For the previous history of Ratchis see vol. vi. pp. 333, 468–9, 480–1.

of four men—Zacharias the Greek, Boniface the man of Devonshire, and the two Frankish Mayors of the Palace. When she is not listening to the discussions in the Lateran patriarchate, she overpasses the Alps and waits upon the march of the Frankish armies, or follows the archbishop of Germany in his holy war against paganism and heresy.

Troubles of the Frankish brothers.

The troubles of Carloman and Pippin did not end with the suppression of Grifo's rebellion. All round the borders of the realm the clouds hung menacing. In Aquitaine, Hunold son of Eudo was again raising his head and endeavouring to assert his independence. Otilo of Bavaria had probably abetted the revolt of his nephew Grifo, and certainly chafed like Hunold under the Frankish yoke. The Alamanni in the south, the Saxons in the north, were all arming against the Franks. It was probably in part at least as the result of these troubles that the two brothers determined to 'regularise their position,' if we may borrow a word from the dialect of modern diplomacy, by seating another shadow on the spectral throne of the Merovingians. Since the death of Theodoric IV in 737 there had been no *fainéant* king sitting in a royal villa or nominally presiding over the national assembly of the *Campus Martius*. A certain Childeric, third king of that name and last of all the Childerics and Chilperics and Theodorics who for the previous century had been playing at kingship, was drawn forth from the seclusion probably of some monastery, was set on the archaic chariot to which the white oxen were yoked, was drawn to the place of meeting, and solemnly saluted as king. This Childeric's very place in the royal pedigree is a matter of debate. In the docu-

A Merovingian phantom ordered to reign.

BK. VIII. CH. 5. 743. ments which bear his name he meekly alludes to 'the famous man Carloman, Mayor of the Palace, who hath installed us in the throne of this realm[1].' That he was enthroned in 743 and dethroned in 751 is practically all that is known of this melancholy figure, *ignavissimus Hildericus*[2].

Campaign in Bavaria. Having thus guarded themselves against the danger of an attack from behind in the name of Merovingian legitimacy, Carloman and Pippin, who always wrought with wonderful unanimity for the defence of their joint dominion, entered upon a campaign against Otilo, duke of Bavaria. Otilo, as has been said, had probably aided his young nephew Grifo in his attempt at revolution. He had also formed a league with Hunold, duke of Aquitaine, and with Theobald, duke of the Alamanni, and openly aimed at getting rid of the overlordship of the Frankish rulers. Further to embitter the relations between the two states, he had married Hiltrudis, daughter of Charles Martel, contrary to the wish of her two brothers[3]. To avenge all these wrongs and to repress all these attempts at independence 'the glorious brothers[4]' led their army into the Danubian plains and encamped on the left bank of the Lech, the river which flows past Augsburg and was then the western boundary of the Bavarian duchy.

[1] 'Viro inclito Karolomanno, majori domus, rectori palatio nostro (*sic*) qui nos in solium regni instituit' (quoted by Hahn, 41, n. 1).

[2] So called by the Monk of St. Gall, i. 10.

[3] This marriage of Hiltrudis is generally attributed, probably with truth, to the influence of Swanahild. It seems to me possible that she was Swanahild's daughter, and therefore only half-sister of the reigning Frankish princes.

[4] 'Gloriosi germani' say the Annales Mettenses, which though not our most trustworthy, is here by far our fullest authority.

On the opposite bank was the Bavarian army, with a large number of Alamannic, Saxon, and Sclavic auxiliaries. So the two armies lay for fifteen days. The river was deemed unfordable, yet Otilo as a matter of extraordinary precaution had drawn a strong rampart round his camp.

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Alleged Papal veto on the war.

The fortnight passed amid the jeers of the threatened Bavarians. Possibly too there may have been some heart-searching in the tent of the Frankish Mayors, for near the close of that period there appeared in the camp the presbyter Sergius, a messenger from Pope Zacharias, professing to bring the papal interdict on the war and a command to leave the land of the Bavarians uninvaded. However, at the end of the fifteen days the Franks, who had found out a ford by which waggons were wont to pass, crossed the Lech by night, and with forces divided into two bands fell upon the camp of the Bavarians. The unexpected attack was completely victorious; the rampart apparently was not defended; the Bavarian host was cut to pieces, and Otilo himself with a few followers escaped with difficulty from the field and placed the river Inn between himself and his triumphant foe. Theobald the Alamannic duke, who must have been also present in the Bavarian camp, saved himself by flight. But the priest Sergius was taken, and with Gauzebald, bishop of Ratisbon, was brought into the presence of the two princes. Thereupon Pippin with calm soul addressed the trembling legate. 'Now we know, master Sergius, that you are not the holy apostle Peter, nor do you truly bear a commission from him. For you said to us yesterday that the Apostolic Lord, by St. Peter's authority and his own, forbade our enterprise against the Bavarians.

BK. VIII. CH. 5. 743. And we then said to you that neither St. Peter nor the Apostolic Lord had given you any such commission. Now then you may observe that if St. Peter had not been aware of the justice of our claim he would not this day have given us his help in this battle. And be very sure that it is by the intercession of the blessed Peter the Prince of Apostles and by the just judgment of God that it is decreed that Bavaria and the Bavarians shall form part of the Empire of the Franks.'

The invading army remained for fifty-two days in the conquered province. Otilo seems to have visited the Frankish court as a suppliant, and obtained at length (perhaps not till after the lapse of a year) the restoration of his ducal dignity, but with his dependence on the Frankish overlords more stringently asserted than before, and with a considerably diminished territory, almost all the land north of the Danube being shorn away from Bavaria and annexed to Austrasia[1]. Otilo appears to have lived about five years after his restoration to his duchy, and to have died in 748, leaving an infant son Tassilo III, of whose fortunes much will have to be said in the following pages.

Coolness between the Pope and the Frankish rulers.

For the time, however, we are more concerned with the relation of Carloman and Pippin to Pope Zacharias; and this indeed is that which has made it necessary to tell with some detail the story of the Bavarian campaign. Priest Sergius said that he brought a message from the Pope forbidding the Frankish princes to make war on Bavaria. Is it certain that he had not in truth such a commission? He is spoken of by the annalist as the envoy[2] of the Pope, and though after the battle of the Lech it might be convenient for

[1] Quitzmann, p. 266.

[2] Missus.

the Pope and all belonging to him to acquiesce in the decision of St. Peter as manifested by the disaster to the Bavarian arms, it is by no means clear that Zacharias, both as a lover of peace desirous to stay the effusion of Christian blood and also as a special ally and patron of the lately christianised Bavarian state, did not endeavour by spiritual weapons to repel the entrance of the Franks into that land. Late and doubtful as is the source from which the story of the mission of Sergius is drawn, it has a certain value as coinciding with other indications to make us believe that the Papacy still looked coldly on the Frankish power, that the remembrance of Charles Martel and his high-handed dealings with Church property was still bitter, and that we are yet in 743 a long way from that entire accord between Pope and Frankish sovereign which is the characteristic feature of the second half of the eighth century. 743.

Growing influence of Boniface.

To the influence of one man, a countryman of our own, more than to any other cause was this momentous change in the relation of the two powers to be attributed. The amalgam between these most dissimilar metals, the mediator between these two once discordant rulers, was Boniface of Crediton, the virtual Metropolitan of North Germany. We have already seen how he consolidated the ecclesiastical organisation of Bavaria, reducing it, as an old Proconsul of the Republic might have done, into the form of a province abjectly submissive to Rome. Thuringia and Hesse felt his forming hand. From Carloman, who was becoming more and more fascinated by his religious fervour, he obtained a grant of sixteen square miles of sylvan solitude in the modern territory of Hesse Cassel, 744.

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where he founded the renowned monastery of Fulda, which he destined for the retreat of his old age. But not yet did he dream of retiring from his church-moulding labours. His influence was felt even in Neustria, and he might almost have been called at this time the Metropolitan of the whole Frankish realm.

Bold words of Boniface to the Pope.

Devoted as Boniface was to the cause of the Papacy, he shrank not from speaking unpalatable truths even to the Pope when he deemed that the cause of the good government of the Church required him to do so. In the collection of his letters there are some which remarkably illustrate this freedom of speech on the part of the English missionary. In one, Boniface calls upon Zacharias to put down the 'auguries, phylacteries and incantations' detestable to all Christians, which were practised on New Year's Day by the citizens of Rome, probably in order to obtain a knowledge of the events which should happen in the newly-opened year[1]. Then again, after Boniface had prayed the Pope to grant the archiepiscopal *pallium* to the bishops of Rouen, Rheims and Sens, and Zacharias had agreed to the proposal and sent the coveted garments, Boniface seems to have changed his mind and limited his request to one only, on discovering or suspecting that the Papal *curia* was asking an exorbitant sum for each of the *pallia*. Even the gentle Zacharias was roused to wrath by what seemed to him the inconstancy and suspiciousness of his correspondent. 'We have fallen,' he said[2], 'into a certain maze and wonderment on the receipt of your letters, so discordant from those which you addressed to us last August. For in those you informed us that by the help of God and with the

[1] Ep. 51 (M. G. H. Epist. iii. 304). [2] Ep. 58. p. 315.

consent and attestation of Carloman you had held a council, had suspended from their sacred office the false priests who were not worthy to minister about holy things, and had ordained three archbishops, giving to each his own metropolis, namely to Grimo the city which is called Rodoma[1], to Abel the city which is called Remi[2], and to Hartbert the city which is called Sennis[3]. All which was at the same time conveyed to us by the letters of Carloman and Pippin in which you [all three] suggested to us that we ought to send three *pallia* to the before-mentioned prelates, and these we granted to them accordingly for the sake of the unity and reformation of the Churches of Christ. But now on receiving this last letter of yours we are, as we have said, greatly surprised to hear that you in conjunction with the aforesaid princes of Gaul have suggested one *pallium* instead of three, and that for Grimo alone. Pray let your Brotherhood inform us why you first asked for three and then for one, that we may be sure that we understand your meaning and that there may be no ambiguity in this matter.

'We find also in this letter of yours what has greatly disturbed our mind, that you hint such things concerning us as if we were corrupters of the canons, abrogators of the traditions of the fathers, and thus—perish the thought—were falling along with our clergy into the sin of simony, by compelling those to whom we grant the *pallium* to pay us money for the same. Now, dearest brother, we exhort your Holiness that your Brotherhood do not write anything of this kind to us again; since we find it both annoying and insulting that you should attribute to us an action

[1] Rouen. [2] Rheims. [3] Sens.

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It would be of course a hopeless attempt to endeavour to ascertain the cause of this strange misunderstanding between two men who seem to have been both in earnest in their desire for the good government of the Church. Certainly the impression which we derive from the correspondence is that the Papal *Curia* was charging a fee for the bestowal of the *pallium*, and such an exorbitant fee that Boniface felt that he must limit his application to one, when in the interests of the Gaulish Church he would have desired to appoint three archbishops. It may perhaps be conjectured that the officials of the *Curia* were in this matter obeying only their own rapacious instincts and were acting without the knowledge of their chief, whose character, if we read it aright, was too gentle and unworldly to make him a strenuous master of such subordinates. It speaks well for the earnestness

[1] Slightly paraphrased from 'Insuper et chartae quae secundum morem a nostro scrinio pro suâ confirmatione atque doctrinâ tribuuntur de nostro concessimus, nihil ab eis auferentes.'

and magnanimity of both Pope and Bishop that the friendly relations between them do not appear to have been permanently disturbed. Even the letter just quoted concludes with these words: 'You have asked if you were to have the same right of free preaching in the province of Bavaria which was granted you by our predecessor. Yes, God helping us, we do not diminish but increase whatever was bestowed upon you by him. And not only as to Bavaria, but as to the whole province of the Gauls, so long as the Divine Majesty ordains that you shall live, do you by that office of preaching which we have laid upon you study in our stead to reform whatsoever you shall find to be done contrary to the canons and to the Christian religion, and bring the people into conformity with the law of righteousness.'

Boniface practically Patriarch of all Frankland.

It will be seen how wide was the commission thus given to Boniface, covering in fact the whole Frankish realm. In conformity therewith we find him holding synods, not only in Austrasia under the presidency of Carloman, but also in Neustria under that of his brother[1]; the object of both synods and of others held at Boniface's instigation being the reform of the morals of the clergy, the eradication of the last offshoots of idolatry, the tightening of the reins of Church discipline. Churchmen were forbidden to bear arms or to accompany the army except in the capacity of chaplains. They were not to keep hawks or falcons, to hunt, or to roam about in the forests

742.

744.

[1] The place of assembly of the first 'Concilium Germanicum' is uncertain: the Neustrian Council was held at Soissons. If Boniface was not personally present at the latter, all was done thereat in accordance with his wishes.

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with their dogs. Severe punishments were ordained for clerical incontinence, especially for the not uncommon case of the seduction of a nun. A list of survivals of heathenism, rich in interest for the antiquary and the philologer, was appended to the proceedings of one of the synods[1], as well as a short catechism in the German tongue, containing the catechumen's promise to renounce the devil and all his works, with Thunar, Woden and Saxnote and all the fiends of their company.

By all this reforming zeal Boniface made himself many enemies. Nothing but the powerful support of the Pope and the two Frankish Mayors probably saved him and his Anglo-Saxon companions ('the strangers' as they were invidiously called) from being hustled out of the realm by the Gaulish bishops, who for centuries had scarcely seen a synod assembled. However, with that support and strong in the goodness of his cause Boniface triumphed. At the synod of 745 Cologne was fixed upon as the metropolitan see of 'the Pagan border-lands and the regions inhabited by the German nations,' and over this great archbishopric Boniface was chosen to preside. Two years later the metropolitan dignity was transferred to the more central and safer position of Mainz, Boniface still holding the supreme ecclesiastical dignity. In frequent correspondence with Zacharias and steadily supported by him, he deposed a predecessor[2] in the see of Mainz who had in true old German fashion

Archbishop of Mainz, 747.

[1] The Concilium Liftinense (Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, iii. 491–533) gives a very full account of these synods convened by Boniface.

[2] Gervillieb or Gervilio (see Hefele, p. 522).

obeyed the law of the blood-feud by slaying the slayer of his father. He procured the condemnation of two bishops whom he accused of wild, but doubtless much exaggerated heresies[1]. We read with regret that Boniface was not content with deposing these men from their offices in the Church, but insisted on invoking the help of the secular arm to ensure their life-long imprisonment.

Carloman's campaign against the Alamanni.

While these events were taking place in the Church, other events in camps and battlefields were preparing the way for a change in the occupants of the palace, which took all the world by surprise. The two brothers Carloman and Pippin fought as before against the Saxons (745) and against the duke of Aquitaine (746), punishing the latter for his confederacy with Otilo of Bavaria. But against the restless and faith-breaking Alamanni Carloman fought alone, and here his impulsive nature, lacking the counterpoise of Pippin's calmer temperament, urged him into a dreadful deed, and one which darkened the rest of his days. Something, we are not precisely told what, but apparently some fresh instance of treachery and instability on the part of the Alamanni, aroused his resentment, and he entered the Swabian territory with an army. He summoned a *placitum*, a meeting of the nation under arms, at Cannstadt on the Neckar[2]. It is suggested that the avowed object of the *placitum*

Massacre of Cannstadt.

746.

[1] Aldebert and Clemens. If it would not lead us too far from our special subject it would be interesting to transcribe the proceedings of the Lateran synod of 745, with reference to these two 'pseudoprophetae,' who amid much that was crazy and fantastic had evidently some high and noble thoughts concerning religion (see Bonifacii Epistolae, 59, pp. 316–322).

[2] A few miles N.E. of Stuttgardt.

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was a joint campaign against the Saxons, but this is only a conjecture. Apparently however the Alamanni came, suspecting nothing, to the place of meeting appointed by the Frankish ruler. Carloman adroitly stationed his army (doubtless much the more numerous of the two) so as to surround the Alamannic host, and the latter thus found themselves helpless when some sort of signal was given for their capture. Some were taken prisoners, but many thousands, it is said, were slain. Theobald their chief and the nobles who had joined with him in making a league with Otilo were taken, and 'compassionately dealt with according to their several deservings.' Probably this means that there was a kind of judicial enquiry into their cases, and some may have escaped from the general massacre[1].

When he came to himself and reflected on what

[1] We can only arrive at any understanding of this mysterious affair by combining the accounts of two chroniclers. The Codex Masciacensis of the Annales Petaviani, a fairly good authority, of the end of the eighth century, says (Pertz, Monumenta, i. p. 11), 'Karolomannus intravit Alamanniam ubi fertur quod multa hominum millia ceciderit. Unde compunctus regnum reliquit.' On the other hand, the Annales Mettenses, the unfailing panegyrist of the Carolingians, says (Ibid. i. 329), 'Anno dominicae incarnationis 746 Karlomannus, cum vidisset Alamannorum infidelitatem, cum exercitu fines eorum irrupit, et placitum instituit in loco qui dicitur Condistat. Ibique conjunctus est exercitus Francorum et Alamannorum. Fuitque ibi magnum miraculum, quod unus exercitus alium comprehendit atque ligavit absque ullo discrimine belli. Ipsos vero, qui principes fuerunt cum Teobaldo in solatio Odilonis . . . comprehendit et misericorditer secundum singulorum merita correxit.' On the next page Carloman in the monastery calls himself 'hominem peccatorem atque homicidam.' The two accounts are not really very divergent, for the mere slaughter of his enemies in fair and open fight would not have so sorely troubled the conscience of a Frankish warrior.

746.

he had done, when he saw, it may be, how this unknightly deed, more worthy of the chamberlain of a Byzantine emperor than of a brave duke of the Franks, struck the minds of his brother warriors, Carloman was filled with remorse. This then was the end of all those conversations with Boniface, of all those aspirations after a better and holier life, which had upward drawn his soul. He, the friend of saints, the reformer of Churches, had done a deed which his rude barbarian forefathers, the worshippers of Thunor and Woden, would have blushed to sanction. There was then no possibility of salvation for him in this world of strife and turmoil. If he would win a heavenly crown he must lay down the Frankish mayoralty. 'In this year Carloman laid open to his brother Pippin a thing upon which he had long been meditating, namely his desire to relinquish his secular conversation and to serve God in the habit of a monk. Wherefore postponing any expedition for that year in order that he might accomplish Carloman's wishes and arrange for his intended journey to Rome, Pippin gave his whole attention to this, that his brother should arrive honourably and with befitting retinue at the goal of his pilgrimage [1].'

Carloman resolves to retire from the world.

It was near the end of the year 747 when Carloman, with a long train of noble followers, set out for Italy. He visited on his road the celebrated monastery of St. Gall, the friend of Columbanus [2], which he enriched with valuable gifts. Having therefore probably

Carloman's journey to Italy.

[1] Einhardi Annales (Pertz, Monumenta, i. 135), s. a. 745: a year wrong here. The other sources clearly show that this entry should be under 746.

[2] See vol. vi. p. 127.

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descended into Italy by the pass of the Splügen, he proceeded at once to Rome, where he worshipped at the tomb of St. Peter, and again gave 'innumerable gifts' to the sacred shrine, among them a silver bow weighing seventy pounds. The fair locks of the Frankish duke were clipped away; he assumed the tonsure and received the monastic habit from the hands of Pope Zacharias. From Rome he withdrew to the solitude of Mount Soracte, and there founded a monastery in honour of Pope Silvester, who was fabled to have sought this refuge from the persecution of the Emperor Constantine[1].

Mount Soracte.

What visitor to Rome has not looked forth towards the north-western horizon to behold the shape, if once seen never to be forgotten, of Soracte? In winter sometimes, as Horace saw it, 'white with deep snow,' in summer purple against the sunset sky, but always, (according to the well-known words of Byron), Soracte

'from out the plain
Heaves like a long-swept wave about to break
And on the curl hangs pausing.'

But though most travellers are content to behold it from afar, he who would visit Soracte will find himself well rewarded for the few hours spent on his pilgrimage. Leaving Rome by the railway to Florence, the modern equivalent of the Via Flaminia, after a journey of about forty miles he reaches a station from which a drive of five miles up towards the hills and out of the valley of the Tiber brings him to Civita Castellana, the representative of that ancient

[1] This utterly imaginary persecution and the story of Constantine's baptism by Silvester will be discussed in a later chapter.

Etruscan city of Falerii which according to Livy's story was voluntarily surrendered to Camillus by the grateful parents whose sons had flogged their treacherous schoolmaster back from the camp to the city[1].

Aptly is this place called 'the castle-city,' for it looks indeed like a natural fortress, standing on a high hill with the land round it intersected by deep rocky gorges, and these gorges lined with caves, the tombs of the vanished Etruscans. Soracte soars above in the near foreground, and thither the traveller repairs, driving for some time through the ilex-woods which border its base, and then mounting upwards to the little town of St. Oreste—a corruption probably of Soracte—which nestles on a shoulder of the mountain. Here the carriage-road ends, but a good bridle-path leads to the convent of S. Silvestro on the highest point of the mountain. Ever as the traveller works his way upwards through the grateful shade of the ilex-woods, he is reminded of Byron's beautiful simile, and feels that he is indeed walking along the crest of a mighty earth-wave, spell-bound in the act of breaking. Here on the rocky summit of the mountain, 2,270 feet above the sea-level, stands the desolate edifice which, though for the most part less than four centuries old, still contains some of the building reared by Carloman in honour of Pope Silvester. Unhappily all the local traditions are concerned with this utterly mythical figure of the papal hermit. The rock on which Silvester lay down every night to sleep, the altar at which he said mass, the little garden in which his turnips grew miraculously in one

[1] Livy, v. 27.

night from seed to full-fed root, all these are shown, but there is no tradition connecting the little oratory with the far more interesting and historical figure of the Carolingian prince. But the landscape at least, which we see from this mountain solitude, must be the same that he gazed upon: immediately below us Civita Castellana with its towers and its ravines; eastward, on the other side of the valley of the Tiber, the grand forms of the Sabine mountains; on the west the Ciminian forest, the Lago Bracciano, and the faintly discerned rim of the sea; southward the wide plains of the Campagna and the Hollow Mountain which broods over Alba Longa.

Carloman retires to Monte Cassino.

Here, for some years apparently, Carloman abode in the monastery which he had founded. But even lonely Soracte was too near to the clamour and the flatteries of the world. The Frankish pilgrims visiting Rome would doubtless often turn aside and climb the mountain on which dwelt the son of the warrior Charles, himself so lately their ruler. Longing to be undisturbed in his monastic seclusion and fearing to be enticed back again into the world of courtly men, Carloman withdrew to the less accessible sanctuary of Monte Cassino[1]. Of his life there we have only one description, and it reaches us from a somewhat questionable source, the Chronicle of Regino, who lived a hundred years after the death of Carloman; but as the chronicler tells us that he made up his history partly from the narration of old men his contemporaries, we may suffer him to paint for us at least a not

[1] Regino, whom I am here following, seems to make the concourse of courtiers visit Carloman in a monastery at Rome, but his own narrative almost compels us to transfer it to Soracte.

impossible picture of the Benedictine life of the Frankish prince. According to this writer, Carloman fled at night from Soracte with one faithful follower, taking with him only a few necessary provisions, and reaching the sacred mountain knocked at the door of the convent and asked for an interview with its head. As soon as the abbot appeared he fell on the ground before him and said, 'Father abbot! a homicide[1], a man guilty of all manner of crimes, seeks your compassion and would fain find here a place of repentance.' Perceiving that he was a foreigner, the abbot asked him of his nation and his fatherland, to which he replied, 'I am a Frank, and I have quitted my country on account of my crimes, but I heed not exile if only I may not miss of the heavenly father-land.' Thereupon the abbot granted his prayer and received him and his comrade as novices into the convent, but mindful of the precept, 'Try the spirits whether they are of God,' laid upon them a specially severe discipline, inasmuch as they came from far and belonged to a barbarous race[2]. All this Carloman bore with patience, and at the end of a year he was allowed to profess the rule of St. Benedict and to receive the habit of the order. Though beginning to be renowned among the brethren for his practice of every monastic virtue, he was not of course exempted from the usual drudgery of the convent, and once a week it fell to his lot to serve in the kitchen. Here, notwithstanding his willingness to help, his ignorance caused him to commit many blunders, and one day the head-cook,

[1] Alluding no doubt to the massacre of Cannstadt.

[2] This allusion to the barbarism of the Franks marks the Italian origin of the story.

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who was heated with wine, gave him a slap in the face, saying, 'Is that the way in which you serve the brethren?' To which with meek face he only answered, 'God pardon thee, my brother'; adding half-audibly[1], 'and Carloman also.' Twice this thing happened, and each time the drunken cook's blows were met by the same gentle answer. But the third time, the faithful henchman, indignant at seeing his master thus insulted, snatched up the pestle with which they pounded the bread that had to be mixed with vegetables for the convent dinner[2], and with it struck the cook with all his force, saying, 'Neither may God spare thee, caitiff slave, nor may Carloman pardon thee.'

At this act of violence on the part of a stranger received out of compassion into the convent, the brethren were at once up in arms. The henchman was placed in custody, and next day was brought up for severe punishment. When asked why he had dared to lift up his hand against a serving-brother he replied, 'Because I saw that vile slave not only taunt but even strike a man who is the best and noblest of all that I have ever known in this world.' Such an answer only increased the wrath of the monks. 'Who is this unknown stranger, whom you place before all other men, not even excepting the father abbot himself?' Then he, unable longer to keep the secret which God had determined to reveal, said,

[1] The chronicler does not say this, but the narrative seems to require that 'et Carolomannus' was not intended to be heard by the head-cook.

[2] 'Arripuit pilum unde panis in (h)olera fratrum committendus conterebatur.'

'That man is Carloman, formerly ruler of the Franks[1], who for the love of Christ has left the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them, and who from such magnificence has stooped so low that he is now not only upbraided but beaten by the vilest of men.' At these words the monks all arose in terror from their seats, threw themselves at Carloman's feet and implored his pardon, professing their ignorance of his rank. He, not to be outdone in humility, cast himself on the ground before them, declared with tears that he was not Carloman, but a miserable sinner and homicide, and insisted that his henchman's statement was an idle tale trumped up to save himself from punishment. But it was all in vain. The truth would make itself manifest. He was recognised as the Frankish nobleman, and for all the rest of his sojourn in the convent he was treated with the utmost deference by the brethren.

Ratchis abdicates and enters the same convent, 749.

It was in 747 that Carloman entered the convent. Two years later his example was followed by the Lombard king, but there is reason to think that in his case the abdication was not so voluntary an act as it was with Carloman. King Ratchis, we are told, 'with vehement indignation' marched against Perugia and the cities of the Pentapolis. Apparently these cities were not included in the strictly local truce which he had concluded for twenty years with the rulers of the *Ducatus Romae*. But Pope Zacharias, mindful of his previous successes in dealing with these impetuous Lombards, went as speedily as possible

[1] 'Iste est Carlomannus quondam *rex* Francorum.' The word *rex* would alone show that the narrative is not strictly contemporary; Carloman was never king of the Franks.

BK. VIII. CH. 5. 749. northwards with some of the chief men of his clergy. He found Ratchis besieging Perugia, but exhorted him so earnestly to abandon the siege that Ratchis retired from the untaken city. Nay, more, says the papal biographer (for it is his narrative that we are here following), Zacharias awakened in the king's mind such earnest care about the state of his soul, that after some days he laid aside his royal dignity, came with his wife and daughters to kneel at the tombs of the Apostles, received the tonsure from the Pope, and retired to the monastery of Cassino, where he ended his days[1].

This is the papal story of king Ratchis' abdication, but a study of the laws of his successor seems to confirm the statement (made it is true on no very good authority) that it was really the result of a revolution. This authority, the Chronicon Benedictanum[2], tells us that the queen of Ratchis, Tassia, was a Roman lady, and that under her influence Ratchis had broken down the old Lombard customs of *morgincap* and *met-fiu*[3] (the money payments made on the betrothal and marriage of a Lombard damsel), and had given grants of land to Romans according to Roman law. All this may have made

[1] The Liber Pontificalis does not mention the place of Ratchis' retirement, but the Chronica S. Benedicti Cassinensis says, 'Rachis rex Longbardorum, dimisso regno, ad beati Benedicti limina cum sua uxore Tasia et Rottruda filia, uterque monachico habitu induti: iste hic in Casino, illa in Blombarolia (?) vitam finierunt' (M. G. H., Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum, 487).

[2] Cap. 16; Pertz, Monumenta, iii. 702.

[3] The chronicler calls them *morgyncaph* and *mithio*. For further explanation of the two words see vol. vi. p. 200. There does not seem to be any justification of the above statement in the extant laws of king Ratchis.

him unpopular with the stern old-world patriots among his Lombard subjects. But it is conjectured with some probability that it was their king's retreat from the walls of untaken Perugia and his too easy compliance with the entreaties of Zacharias which at last snapped the straining bond of his subjects' loyalty. BK. VIII. CH. 5. 749.

Whatever the cause may have been, the fact is certain. The Lombard throne was declared to be empty, and Aistulf, brother of the displaced king, was invited to ascend it (July, 749[1]). There may not have been bloodshed, but there was almost certainly resistance on the part of the dethroned monarch, for the first section of the new king's laws, published soon after his accession, provides that, 'As for those grants which were made by king Ratchis and his wife Tassia, all of these which bear date after the accession of Aistulf shall be of no validity unless confirmed by Aistulf himself.' Aistulf, king of the Lombards, 749–756.

Thus these two men, lately powerful sovereigns, Carloman and Ratchis, are meeting in church and refectory in the high-built sanctuary of St. Benedict on Monte Cassino. We shall hereafter have to note the emergence of both from that seclusion, on two different occasions and with widely different motives.

[1] Oelsner (p. 437), by a careful comparison of dates, comes to the conclusion that Aistulf became king on the 3rd or 4th of July, 749, and died about the end of November or beginning of December, 756.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ANOINTING OF PIPPIN.

Guide:—

Hahn's 'Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs,' 741–752.

Pippin sole Mayor, 747–751.

ON the abdication of Carloman the stream of events in the Frankish state flowed on for a few years with little change. If there was any thought of Carloman's sons succeeding to their father's inheritance, such thought was soon abandoned. Pippin is seen both in Austrasia and Neustria ruling with unquestioned power, nor do we hear any hint of his being a regent on behalf of his nephews[1]. The first act of his sole mayoralty was to release his half-brother Grifo from the captivity in which Carloman had kept him for six years. It proved to be an ill-judged act of mercy, for Grifo, embittered no doubt by his long imprisonment, still refused to acquiesce in his exclusion from sovereign power. It was true that Pippin gave him an honourable seat in his palace, with countships and large revenues[2]. These failed however to soothe his angry spirit. He gathered many of the nobles to his banner, but, unable

Grifo's liberation from prison and rebellion.

[1] I make this statement with some hesitation, since Hahn asserts the contrary, 'Er regierte für seine Neffen' (p. 89), but he does not quote any authority.

[2] 'Et ipsum fraterna dilectione honoratum in palatio suo habuit, deditque illi comitatus et fiscos plurimos' (Annales Mettenses).

apparently to conquer any strongholds within the Frankish realm, he fled from the land, and accompanied by a band of young noblemen bent on adventure, he sought the country of the Saxons and the tribe of the Nordo-Squavi. These men were possibly descendants of those Swabians whose settlement in the country of the Saxons and wars with their predecessors returning from the conquest of Italy have been described in a previous volume[1]. Pippin with his army pursued his brother into the Saxon territory. The two hosts encamped not far from the river Ocher in the duchy of Brunswick, but parted without a battle, the Saxons having apparently feared to trust the fortune of war against an adversary of superior strength. Grifo fled to Bavaria, the country of his mother Swanahild, where the opportune death of his cousin and brother-in-law, duke Otilo, seemed to open a convenient field for his ambitious designs. He was at first successful. His sister Hiltrudis and her child, the little duke Tassilo, fell into his hands. For a short time Grifo, who received help both from Bavaria and from Alamannic rebels against the Frankish supremacy, succeeded in establishing himself at Ratisbon, but soon had to meet the irresistible Frankish army. The Bavarian rebels retreated to the further bank of the Inn; Pippin prepared to cross it with his ships, and the Bavarians, affrighted, renounced the combat. Grifo was taken prisoner and was carried back into Frank-land. His long-suffering brother gave him the lordship of twelve Neustrian counties, with Le Mans for his capital; but all was in vain to win back that rebellious soul.

[1] Vol. v. p. 192. The suggestion is made by a writer quoted by Hahn, 93, n. 1.

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In Aquitaine, in Italy, wherever there was an enemy of Pippin, there was Grifo's friend. We will anticipate the course of events by five years in order to end the story of this often-pardoned Pretender. In 753, when a storm was already brewing between Pippin and the Lombard king, Grifo essayed to pass over Mont Cenis into Italy to join his brother's foes. He was stopped at S. Jean de Maurienne by two noblemen loyal to Pippin, Theudo, count of Vienne, and Frederic, count of Transjurane Burgundy. The skirmish which followed seems to have been a desperate one; for all three leaders, both Grifo and the Burgundian counts, were slain. 'Whose death, though he was a traitor to his country, was a cause of grief to Pippin[1].'

Letter of St. Boniface.

In these central years of the eighth century, where the annals give us such scanty historical details, our fullest source of information as to the thoughts which were passing through the minds of the leaders of the people is furnished by the copious correspondence of the Saxon apostle Boniface. His letters to Pope Zacharias and that Pope's answers are especially interesting, and give us on the whole a favourable impression of the character of both men. They are no doubt, as we have already seen in the case of Aldebert and Clemens[2], too anxious to use the power of the state for the suppression of what they deem to be heresy, and they may have been too confident in the correctness of their own faculty of distinguishing between divinely inspired truth and dangerous error. For instance, the theory advanced by Virgil, bishop of

[1] This is the addition of a ninth-century chronicler, Ado of Vienne, to the account given by the Continuer of 'Fredegarius.'

[2] See p. 109.

Salzburg[1], that there is another world beneath our feet, with inhabitants of its own and lighted by its own sun and moon, does not appear to us such a wicked, atheistic and soul-destroying doctrine as it appeared to Zacharias and Boniface[2]. But in the main, the energies of Pope and Archbishop were directed in the right channel. They laboured together for the eradication of the superstitious, sometimes impure or cruel practices of Teutonic heathendom, for the maintenance of the sanctity of the Christian family, for the restoration of discipline and the elevation of the standard of morals among the nominally Christian Franks of Western Gaul. Throughout this period we are impressed by the moral superiority of both the Saxons and the Germans to the Gallo-Roman inhabitants of Neustria and Burgundy. The 'transmarine Saxons' (as our countrymen are called) and the dwellers by the Rhine and in Thuringia remained much longer stiff and stubborn in their idolatry than the Burgundians or the Salian Franks, but when they did embrace Christianity they submitted to its moral restraints more loyally and aspired after holiness of life more ardently than the inhabitants of those western regions into whose life there had entered not only the softness but something also of the corrupt-

[1] A man of Irish extraction, whose true name was Ferghil. His theory as to the existence of Antipodes seems not to have been a mere guess, but the result of his mathematical and astronomical studies. He was surnamed the Geometer.

[2] 'De perversâ autem et iniquâ doctrinâ quae contra Deum et animam suam locutus est, si clarificatum fuerit ita eum confiteri, quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint, seu sol et luna: hunc habito concilio ab aecclesia pelle, sacerdotii honore privatum' (Zacharias to Boniface, apud M. G. H., p. 360).

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ness of the old Roman civilisation. It is true that this very same quality of whole-heartedness, as has been already pointed out, made the newly-converted nations much more enthusiastic champions than their Neustrian neighbours of the spiritual autocracy of Rome. The Anglo-Saxon missionary and his German disciples are the Ultramontanes of the eighth century, while even in the indiscipline of the Neustrian ecclesiastics we seem to perceive the germ of the famous Gallican liberties of a later age.

Shall Boniface 'be all things to all men'?

One of the perplexities which pressed most heavily on the conscience of Boniface, and on which he sought the advice both of the Pope and of his brother bishops in England, was the doubt how far he could without sacrifice of his principles exchange the ordinary courtesies of social life with the demoralised and (as he deemed them) heretical prelates of the Frankish court. 'I swore,' he says, 'on the body of St. Peter to the venerable Pope Gregory II, when he sent me forth to preach the word of faith to the German nations, that I would help all true and regularly ordained bishops and presbyters in word and deed, and would abstain from the communion of false priests, hypocrites, and seducers of the people if I could not bring them back into the way of salvation. Now such men as these last do I find, when on account of the Church's necessities I visit the court of the prince of the Franks[1]. I cannot avoid such visits, for without the patronage of that prince I can neither govern the Church itself, nor defend the presbyters and clergy, the monks and the handmaidens of God; nor can I without his mandate and

[1] 'Dum venissem ad principem Francorum' (Ep. 86, M. G. H. 368).

the terror of his name prohibit the rites of the pagans and the sacrilegious worship of idols which prevail in Germany. This being so, though I do not join with these men in the Holy Communion, and though I feel that I have in spirit fulfilled my vow, since my soul has not entered into their counsel, yet I have not been able to abstain from bodily contact with them. Thus on the one side I am pressed by the obligations of my oath, and on the other by the thought of the loss which will be sustained by my people if I should not visit the prince of the Franks[1].'

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In answer to this case of conscience the bishop of Winchester reminded Boniface of the words of St. Paul, 'for then must we needs go out of the world'; and Zacharias assured him that for his conversations with these men, if he was not a sharer in their iniquity, he incurred no blame in the sight of God. If they hearkened to his voice and obeyed his preaching they would be saved, but if they continued in their sin they would perish, while he himself, according to the words of the prophet Ezekiel[2], would have delivered his own soul.

Milo, Archbishop of Rheims and of Trier.

We obtain a glimpse of the kind of men, ecclesiastical courtiers of Pippin, with whom the zealous Boniface shrank from holding communion, when we read the story of Milo, archbishop of Rheims and of Trier. Son and nephew of bishops, but of bishops who had held also the dignities of duke and of count, and himself brother of a count, this man was an

[1] Epp. Bonifacii, 63 (to Daniel, bishop of Winchester), and 86 (to Pope Zacharias). I have combined some sentences in the two letters.

[2] xxxiii. 5, 6.

BK. VIII. CH. 6. eminent example of that tendency to make the high places of the Church hereditary and to bestow them on members of the nobility, which was also noticeable in the Gaul of Sidonius and of Gregory of Tours. As a soldier he had shared the campaigns of Charles Martel, who, in jovial mood probably, tossed to his battle-comrade the mitre of Rheims. 'An ecclesiastic only in the tonsure' as the scandalised chronicler described him, he soon laid violent hands on the adjacent diocese of Trier. Both provinces seem to have groaned under his yoke, but we are specially told of the diocese of Rheims that he left many of the suffragan bishoprics vacant, handed over the episcopal residences to laymen, and turned the regions under his sway into a sort of ecclesiastical No-man's-land into which flocked all the 'criminous clerks' who fled from the jurisdiction of their own bishops, and there with disorderly monks and nuns lived a life of licence and utter defiance of the Church's discipline. In order to remedy these disorders, Boniface procured the consecration of his countryman Abel as Archbishop of Rheims, and, as we have already seen, obtained for him from the Pope the grant of the coveted *pallium*. But Pope and apostle alike seem to have been powerless against the stout soldier and court-favourite Milo. The meek stranger Abel soon vanishes from the scene. Milo retains possession not only of one but of both metropolitan sees, and at last, 'after forty years' tyrannical invasion of the Church' (says the chronicler), he meets his death in the forest, not like his great namesake Milo of Crotona in a vain display of his mighty strength, but from the tusks of a wild boar which he has been chasing. The contrast of the lives

of the two men, Milo and Boniface, brings forcibly before us the nature of the work which had to be done in demoralised Neustria, and which was at length accomplished by the united exertions of Austrasia and of Rome[1].

Mysterious sentence in a letter of Boniface.

In one of Boniface's letters to the Pope he alludes to 'certain secrets of my own which Lul the bearer of this letter' (the friend and eventually the successor of Boniface) 'will communicate *vivâ voce* to your Piety.' In this mysterious sentence some commentators have seen an allusion to the approaching revolution in the Frankish kingdom. The conjecture is plausible; the time fits, for the letter must have been written in the autumn of 751, but it is after all nothing but a conjecture. It is, however, probable enough that during the years 749 to 751, of which little is heard in the chronicles, Pippin was preparing the minds of his subjects, and especially of the great churchmen of his court, for the momentous change which was approaching.

That change will be best told in the simple words of the monkish chronicler who wrote the Annales Laurissenses Minores.

Pippin's famous message to Pope Zacharias.

'In the year 750 of the Lord's incarnation Pippin sent ambassadors to Rome to Pope Zacharias, to ask concerning the kings of the Franks who were of the royal line and were called kings, but had no power in the kingdom, save only that charters and privileges were drawn up in their names, but they had absolutely no kingly power, but did whatever the *Major Domus* of the Franks desired. But on the [first] day of March in

[1] The materials for the story of Milo are collected by Hahn, 131–133.

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The kindred chronicle, which is called simply Annales Laurissenses, with fewer words gives us some more particulars :—

749. 'Burchard, bishop of Würzburg, and Folrad the chaplain were sent to Pope Zacharias to ask concerning the kings in Frank-land who at that time had no royal power, whether this were good or no. And Pope Zacharias commanded Pippin that it would be better that *he* should be called king who had the power, rather than he who was remaining without any royal power. That order might not be disturbed, by his apostolic authority he ordered that Pippin should be made king.'

'Pippin, according to the manner of the Franks, was elected king, and anointed by the hand of archbishop Boniface of holy memory, and he was raised to the kingdom by the Franks in the city of Soissons. But Hilderic, who was falsely called king, was tonsured and sent into a monastery.'

One more entry, this time from the Continuer of 'Fredegarius,' completes the contemporary or nearly contemporary accounts of the great transaction :—

'At which time, by the advice and with the consent of all the Franks, a report was sent to the Apostolic See, and on the receipt of authority [from thence] the lofty Pippin, by the election of the whole Frankish nation into the seat of royalty, with consecration of the bishops and submission of the nobles, together with his queen Bertrada (as the order from of old requires), is raised on high in the kingdom.'

Pippin king.

Thus then was the revolution, towards which the whole course of Frankish history had been tending for more than a century, at last consummated. The phantasm disappeared and the reality was hailed by its true name. The unfortunate Childeric, upon whom came the punishment for all the wasted lives of so many licentious Merovingian ancestors, had to end his days in the dreary solitude of his cell. But yesterday the deeds and charters which counted the years from his accession styled him 'gloriosus dominus noster Hildericus'; now he is simply known by some monastic name, brother Martin it may be or brother Felix, in the monastery of St. Medard at Soissons. His wife, according to some accounts, and in the following year his son, were each compelled into the same monastic seclusion. The race of Clovis and Meroveus, the

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descendants of the sea-monster, disappear from history. Yet who knows? The Merovingian blood may have filtered down into the lowest strata of society. Among the fishwives who dragged Louis XVI in triumph back to Paris from Versailles, among the unwashed rabble who haunted the galleries of the Convention and shouted for the death of that innocent victim, there may have been some men and women who, if they had known the names of their progenitors, might have claimed descent from Dagobert and Chlotochar.

Elected by the people.

Turning away then from the grave of the Merovingian monarchy, let us contemplate the new monarchy which is installed in the person of the descendant of the sainted Arnulf. We observe that Pippin is 'exalted into the kingdom, according to the ancient manner of the Franks[1].' We also observe that there is a distinct statement that he was 'elected' to his new dignity[2]. We may therefore assert that on this occasion, in the utter failure and decay of the hereditary principle, there was a reversion to the old Teutonic principle of elective royalty, and we may probably infer that, as the outward and visible sign of that election, Pippin was raised on a buckler amid the acclamations of the assembled warriors of his people, even as Alaric and Clovis had been raised in earlier centuries. It is to be noticed also that the

[1] 'Elevatus a Francis in regno' [=regnum] (Ann. Laur.); 'More Francorum elevatus in solium regni' (Einhardi Annales, which at this point follow Ann. Laurissenses pretty closely); 'in sedem regni . . . ut antiquitus ordo deposcit sublimatur in regno [=regnum]' (Fredegarii Contin.).

[2] 'Pippinus secundum morem electus est ad regem' (Ann. Laur.); 'praecelsus Pippinus electione totius (*sic*) Francorum in sedem regni . . . sublimatur' (Fredegar. Contin.).

ceremony took place at Soissons, a place which was not a royal residence, and which had not been frequently heard of in the later Merovingian time, but which, on account of its memories of Clovis and Syagrius, was evidently looked upon as one of the holy places of the Frankish monarchy.

Approved by the Pope.

Far more important, however, for practical purposes than these sentimental reversions to the old Teutonic usages and associations was the emphatic sanction given by the Roman Church to the new order of things. It may be that the thought of a mission to Rome to enquire of Pope Zacharias was in the first place only an expedient for the quieting of troubled consciences, whether of Pippin himself or of some of his subjects, as to this step, which looked like a breach of trust on the part of the legitimate king's Prime Minister. Thus looked at, the embassy of one Austrasian and one Neustrian ecclesiastic to Rome—Burchardt, bishop of Würzburg, and Folrad, abbot of S. Denis and private chaplain to the king—may have been somewhat like those embassies which used to be sent to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi when one of the Grecian states was about to enter upon a course of action which strained the obligations of political morality. But with whatever notions undertaken, there can be no doubt that the appeal to Rome on such a subject and at such a crisis of the nation's history enormously increased the authority of St. Peter's representative with the Frankish nation. We have only to look at the language of the chroniclers to see for how much the papal sanction counted in the establishment of the new dynasty. 'The Pope commanded the king and people of the Franks that

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Pippin should be called king'; 'Pope Zacharias, . . . that order should not be disturbed by his apostolic authority, commanded that Pippin should become king'; 'According to the sanction of the Roman pontiff, Pippin was called king of the Franks'; and so on[1]. The tone of the chroniclers seems to be that of men who are describing an event as to the moral colour of which they are not themselves fully satisfied, but they quiet their consciences with the reflection that it must after all have been right because it was sanctioned by the authority of the head of Western Christendom.

Anointed by Boniface.

To emphasise this fact of the papal consent to the great revolution the chief actor in the religious part of the ceremony was Boniface, of whose untiring devotion to the Roman see so many examples have been given in the preceding pages. True, the other bishops were present, possibly some of them, especially some of the Neustrian bishops, scowling at this officious Saxon who dared to oust the successor of Remigius from his rights and to take the foremost place in their own historical sanctuary of Soissons. But of any such growlings of discontent we have no historic evidence. The fact emphasised by chroniclers and most needlessly questioned by some modern historical sceptics was that Boniface, archbishop and soon to be martyr, performed the solemn ceremony of anointing, probably also

[1] 'Mandavit itaque praefatus pontifex regi et populo Francorum ut Pippinus . . . rex appellaretur' (Ann. Laur. Minores); 'Zacharias Papa . . . ut non conturbaretur ordo, per auctoritatem apostolicam jussit Pippinum regem fieri' (Ann. Laur.); 'Secundum Romani pontificis sanctionem Pippinus rex Francorum appellatus est' (Einhardi Annales).

the ceremony of crowning, for the new king of the Franks .

By long habit we are so accustomed to the sound of the words 'an anointed king' that we hardly realise its full significance in the case before us. Speaking broadly, it may be said that to pour oil upon the head of the ruler and to anoint therewith his hands and his feet is not a Teutonic, nor even an Aryan, but essentially a Semitic rite. No German *thiudans*, no Greek or Roman *basileus* or *rex*, as far as we know, was ever anointed. The rite comes from the burning East, from that Hebrew people who named 'corn and wine and oil' as the three great voices with which the earth praised Jehovah [2]. 'I have found David My servant, with My holy oil have I anointed him,' was the verse of the Psalms which was doubtless present to the mind of Boniface when he poured the consecrated oil upon the bowed head of the Frankish king. The Eastern emperors, though Christian, had not taken over this ceremony from Judaism. Late in the day, probably about the middle of the seventh century, it had been adopted by the Visigothic kings of Spain. In our own country it seems probable that the petty kings of Wales were anointed, before their Saxon rivals submitted to the rite. However this may be, it is clear that in imitation of Samuel and Zadok the Christian ecclesiastics of the eighth century were now magnifying their office by pouring the oil of

[1] 'Quod ita factum est per unctionem sancti Bonifacii archiepiscopi Suessionis civitati' (Ann. Laur. Min.); 'Pippinus unctus est per manum sancti Bonifacii archiepiscopi' (Ann. Laur.); 'et ad hujus dignitatem honoris unctus sacra unctione manu sanctae memoriae Bonifatii archiepiscopi et martiris' (Einhardi Annales).

[2] Hosea ii. 22.

BK. VIII. CH. 6. consecration on the head that was about to receive a kingly crown. Possibly, as a German scholar suggests[1], the religious sanction which the Christian Church thus gave to the new dynasty was meant to compensate for the lost glamour of a descent from the gods of Walhalla to which the posterity of St. Arnulf could with no consistency lay claim.

Thus then the elevation of Pippin to the Frankish throne, dictated as it was by the inexorable logic of fact, and heartily acquiesced in by the nation, received the solemn sanction of the great Patriarch of Western Christendom. Such favours are not usually given by ecclesiastics gratuitously. The immediate result of the ceremony at Soissons was undoubtedly the consolidation of the power of Boniface as representing the Pope in Neustria and Burgundy. We may be sure that 'the Gallican liberties' (which in this century meant the Gallican anarchy) suffered a new constraint from the day when Pippin felt the anointing hand of the Apostle of Germany. But the king himself also, by invoking the aid of the bishop of Rome, had incurred an obligation which brought him, and that right speedily, into the troubled zone of Italian politics[2].

[1] I refer to Waitz (Verfassungs-Geschichte, iii. 64–66, second edition), to whom I am indebted for most of the above remarks on the practice of regal anointing.

[2] There is great discrepancy between the chroniclers as to the date of Pippin's coronation. 750 is the date assigned by Annales S. Emmerani, Laurissenses, Einhardi and Mettenses; 751 by Annales S. Amandi, Laubacenses, Alamannici, Guelferbytani and several others, some of which simply transcribe S. Amandi; 752 by Annales Petaviani and Sangallenses; and 753 by Annales Laurissenses Minores. Hahn (Jahrbücher, 229–237) fights hard for 752, but Waitz (III. 67) considers that Sickel (Forschungen, iv. 441) has proved the true date to be November, 751.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DONATION OF CONSTANTINE.

Sources :—

EDICTUM DOMINI CONSTANTINI IMPERATORIS, with French translation by A. Bonneau, and Laurentius Valla's refutation (published in Paris, 1879, under the title 'La Donation de Constantin').

Guide :—

'Die Papst-Fabeln des Mittelalters,' von J. J. I. v. *Döllinger*,' edited by J. Friedrich (Stuttgart, 1890).

The False as a motive power in Politics.

IT is one of the commonplaces of history, that in considering the causes which have produced any given event, we have often to deal not only with that which is True and can be proved, but also with that which though False is yet believed. The undoubted fable of the descent of the founders of Rome from the defenders of Troy distinctly influenced the policy of the Republic both in Greece and Asia. Some effect on Jewish history was produced by the story of Judas Maccabeus' treaty with Rome engraved on a tablet of brass. The shadowy and almost fabulous claim of the Saxon kings to lordship over Scotland suggested the wars of Edward the First with the northern kingdom. The so-called 'Will of Peter the Great'—almost certainly spurious—has been a mighty rallying-cry both to

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friends and foes of the extension of the dominion of the Tsars in Europe and Asia. But there is no need to multiply instances, when the one eminent instance of the fable of the greased cartridges as a plot against the religion of the Sepoy, a fable which so nearly lost us India, is present to the memory of us all.

Just such a fable was working powerfully on the minds of men, at any rate of Roman citizens and ecclesiastics, in the middle of the eighth century; a fable which dealt with the acts and deeds of the great Emperor Constantine and of his contemporary Pope Silvester. Though the body of the Caesar had been for more than four centuries mouldering in its vault in the great church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, and though sixty pontiffs had sat in the patriarchal chair of the Lateran since Silvester was carried to his grave, it may be safely said that these two men, or rather not these two men but a mythical Constantine and a mythical Silvester, were then exerting as great an influence as any living Emperor or Pope on the politics of Europe.

The historic Constantine.

In fewest possible words let us recall the events in the life of the historic Emperor *Constantine the Great.* Born about the year 274, the son of an emperor who though a heathen was conspicuously favourable to the Christians, he was acclaimed as Caesar by the soldiers of his deceased father at Eburacum in the year 306. For eighteen years he was engaged more or less continuously in struggles with other wearers of the Imperial diadem. Maximian, Maxentius, Licinius fell before him, until at last, in 324, he emerged from a series of deadly civil wars, sole ruler of the Roman

world. At each step of his upward progress some burden was taken off the Christian Church, which from the beginning of his career recognised in him its patron and protector. In the year 313, in concert with his partner in the empire, Licinius, he issued the celebrated Edict of Milan which secured full toleration to the Christians. His own personal relation to the new faith, at least during the middle years of his life, is somewhat obscure. In spite of the story of the miraculous Labarum[1] affixed to his standards in his campaign against Maxentius (312) he appears for some years to have professed, or at all events practised, a kind of eclectic theism, seeking to combine a reverence for Christ with some remains of the paganism which had been hitherto the official religion of the Roman state. But always even during this transition period he took a kindly and intelligent interest in the affairs of the Christian Church, labouring especially for the preservation of its internal harmony. Thus his famous presidency at the council of Nicaea (325) was entirely in keeping with his previous attitude towards the Church ever since he had assumed the diadem. Within three or four years after that celebrated event he wrought his other even more world-famous work, the foundation of the city of Constantinople. Still, though more and more showing himself as the patron of Christianity and making it now not only a permitted but a dominant, almost a persecuting form of faith, he himself postponed for a long while his formal reception into the Christian Church. This took place at last at his villa of Ancyrona in Bithynia, where in the spring of 337 Eusebius

[1] The monogram of Christ ☧ which he is said to have seen in the sky, with the inscription, 'Hoc [signo] vinces.'

the Arian bishop of Nicaea administered to him the rite of Christian baptism, which in a few days was followed by his death.

The historic Silvester.

Contemporary with Constantine during the greater part of his reign was *Silvester*, who held the office of bishop of Rome from 314 to 335. He was a man apparently of no great force of character, who probably ruled his diocese well (since we hear of no complaints or disputes during his long episcopate), and who was excused on the score of age from attending at the council of Nicaea, at which he was represented by two presbyters. It seems probable that Silvester was the Pope who received from Constantine the gift of the Lateran Palace in the south-east of Rome, with a large and doubtless valuable plot of ground adjoining it, on which the Emperor may have built the great basilica which bears the proud title, 'Omnium ecclesiarum in orbe sedes et caput.' It is quite possible that other estates in the city and in the Italian provinces may have been bestowed upon the Roman see during the papacy of Silvester by the first Christian emperor, who was undoubtedly a generous giver to the Churches throughout his empire.

Such in outline are the figures of the historic Constantine and the historic Silvester. Now let us see how they are drawn and coloured by the legends of later and barbarous centuries.

Travesty of their lives in the Vita Silvestri.

The Vita Silvestri, a book written probably about the year 500, that is to say nearly two centuries after Silvester's pontificate, describes in the usual style of religious biography the youthful virtues of its hero, his hospitality, his courageously manifested sympathy with Timotheus, a martyr during the persecution of

Diocletian, his ordination as deacon and as priest, and his involuntary elevation to the papacy on the death of Miltiades (314). It then goes on to relate some of the marvellous works performed by the new Pope, chief among them the chaining up of a certain noisome dragon which by its baleful breath poisoned the whole city, dwelling as it did in a subterranean cave under the Tarpeian rock, reached by a staircase of three hundred and sixty-five steps. After this event a cruel persecution of the Christians is said to have been set on foot by the Emperor Constantine. Silvester, bowing his head to the storm, departed from Rome and took refuge in a cave on Mount 'Syraption,' which later transmitters of the story have identified with Soracte. While he was still in hiding, the Emperor Constantine, as a punishment for his cruelties towards the Christians, was afflicted with a grievous leprosy. The physicians were unable to cure him, and he sought the aid of the priest of the Capitol, who assured him that he could only be healed by bathing in a laver filled with the blood of newly-born infants. A multitude of sucklings from all parts of the empire were collected for the ghastly purification, but with the babes came of course their mothers, who rent the air with such piteous cries that Constantine, moved with pity, countermanded the massacre, declaring that he would rather continue to suffer from his disease than purchase health at the cost of so great sorrow. That night in a dream two venerable figures appeared to him, and as a reward for his forbearance told him that if he would send for Silvester he should by his means be healed of his malady.

BK. VIII. CH. 7. Messengers were accordingly sent to Soracte, who brought Silvester into the presence of the Emperor. Two pictures were exhibited by the Pope, and Constantine at once recognised in them the likenesses of the personages who appeared to him in his dream. 'What are the names of these gods,' says the Emperor, that I may worship them?' 'They are no gods,' replies the Pope, 'but the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, servants of the living God and of His Son Jesus Christ': and thereupon he expounds to him the rudiments of Christianity. Constantine expresses his willingness to receive baptism; they journey to Rome, and the rite is administered in a porphyry vase in the Lateran Palace. At the moment of immersion a bright light dazzles his eyes and the eyes of the beholders. He rises from the lustral waters cured of the plague of leprosy. Constantine then proceeds to issue various edicts on behalf of his new faith. Christ is to be adored throughout his Empire; the blasphemers of His name are to be severely punished; the churches are to be inviolable places of refuge; new churches are to be built out of the proceeds of tithes levied on the imperial domains; the bishops of the whole Empire are to be subject to the Pope, even as the civil magistrates are subject to the Emperor. Constantine himself repairs to the Vatican hill and begins to dig the foundations of the new church of St. Peter. Next day he commences a similar work at the Lateran. He convenes a great assembly of the senate and people of Rome in the *Basilica Ulpiana*, announces his own conversion in the presence of the senators (who for the most part adhere absolutely to their old idolatry), but declares that faith shall be free and that

no one shall be forced to become Christian against his will. At this point, however, he receives a letter from his mother, the widowed Empress Helena, residing in Bithynia, who while congratulating him on having renounced the worship of idols, implores him to adopt, not Christianity, but the only true religion, Judaism. Hereupon a disputation is held as to the merits of the two religions, between the Pope on one side and twelve Rabbis on the other. After argument is exhausted, recourse is had to the test of miracles. A bull is brought in, and the Rabbi who champions the faith of Moses whispers in its ear the mysterious Name revealed on Sinai. The bull falls dead, and all the bystanders feel that the Jew has triumphed; but then Silvester draws near and whispers in the creature's ear the name of Christ, whereupon the bull comes to life again and stands upright on its feet. Then the Christian cause is admitted to have triumphed. Constantine sets off for the East to found Constantinople, and Helena repairs to Jerusalem where she discovers the Holy Cross.

Such is the *farrago* of nonsensical romance which, at the period that we have now reached, passed generally current as the true history of the baptism of the first Christian emperor. There is no need to point out how utterly at every turn the story contradicts the undoubted facts of history. The marvellous thing is that these facts had been fully and correctly stated by authors of high repute in the Church, such as Eusebius and Jerome, and the slightest acquaintance with their works must have shown any Roman ecclesiastic that it was impossible that the story told in

BK. VIII. CH. 7. the *Gesta Silvestri* could be true. When and where it originated can only be a matter of conjecture. Abbé Duchesne, the learned and impartial editor of the Liber Pontificalis (into which, strange as it may appear, this extravagant fiction has made its way), thinks that it probably had its origin in the Church of Armenia. Döllinger, without expressing a decided opinion on this point, agrees with Duchesne in the conclusion which has been already stated that the fable obtained credence in Rome about the end of the fifth century, at which time it is alluded to in some of the treatises called forth by the trial of Pope Symmachus[1]. From the decision of such experts as these there can be no appeal; but it is certainly difficult to understand how such a wild travesty of the facts could have been believed little more than a century after the death of the son of Constantine[2]: and it is also hard to reconcile the existence of the story in the year 500 with the entire silence respecting it which we find in all the writings of Gregory the Great, yet a hundred years later. Remembering how large a part of his papal life was occupied in controversy with the Patriarch of Constantinople or respectful opposition to his master the Emperor, we find it difficult to understand why there should never be an allusion to a story which, if it had been true, would have so greatly enhanced the glory of the see of Rome at the expense of the see of Constantinople. Possibly the difficulty may be explained by Abbé Duchesne's suggestion that the currency of

[1] See vol. iii. p. 495 (p. 446, second edition).

[2] Constantius II died in 361. The election of Pope Symmachus was in 498.

the story and even the authority of the Liber Pontificalis were at this time confined to the less educated portion of the Roman clergy and laity, and that scholars and statesmen, such as Gregory I, did not confute, because they too utterly despised them [1].

The fable of Constantine's leprosy depicted on the walls of the Quattro Incoronati.

However, preposterous as this story of the conversion of Constantine might be, by frequent repetition through barbarous and ignorant ages it succeeded in getting itself accepted as truth. Even at this day not only the unlettered peasant from the Campagna, but many of the better educated foreign visitors to Rome, who enter the interesting fortress-church of the Quattro Incoronati [2], between the Colosseum and the Lateran, little know what an audacious travesty of history is represented in the quaint frescoes on its walls. They see the unhappy Emperor covered with the spots of leprosy, the glad mothers with their babes restored, the two Apostles appearing to the dreaming sovereign, the gay horsemen seeking Pope Silvester in his cave, the recognition of St. Peter and St. Paul, Constantine standing in the regenerating waters, Constantine kneeling before the Pope and offering him a diadem, Constantine

[1] He says, 'Le *Liber Pontificalis* ne fut pas tout d'abord en vogue dans les hautes régions littéraires, pas plus que les apocryphes Symmachiens: le suffrage qu'ils avaient donné au "livre de Silvestre" ne paraît l'avoir recommandé que dans le cerclè des personnes qui s'intéressaient aux histoires des saints sans vérifier si elles étaient authentiques ou non' (I. cxv).

[2] So named from four soldiers (Severus, Severianus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus) who were put to death under Diocletian for refusing to worship the image of Aesculapius. The story of their martyrdom has become entangled with that of the martyrdom of five stone-masons of Sirmium who refused to carve a statue of Aesculapius, but the two seem to be essentially distinct.

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leading Silvester's horse into Rome and walking groom-like by his stirrup: they see all this, and imagine that they are looking on a representation, quaint indeed but not impossible, of events that actually occurred, nor do they grasp the fact that they are looking on a great pictured falsehood, the memory of which and the consequences of which, perturbing all the relations of the Christian Church and the civil ruler, dividing Guelf from Ghibelin and Swabian from Angevin, prolonged for centuries the agony of Italy[1].

The pretended Donation of Constantine.

A fiction like that of the Roman baptism of Constantine once taken home into the minds of the people soon gathers round it other fictions. Thus it came to pass that at some uncertain time in the eighth century there was brought to birth the yet more monstrous fiction of *The Donation of Constantine.* The document which purports to contain this donation is of portentous length, containing about five thousand words, and there are in it many repetitions which suggest the idea that its fabricator has added one or two codicils to his original draft, as points occurred to him on which a fuller explanation might be expedient. I extract a few of the more important sentences.

'In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the Emperor Caesar

[1] Neither Döllinger nor Duchesne alludes to these quaint frescoes in the Quattro Incoronati, which, it seems to me, may throw some light on the origin of the Silvester-Constantine fable. The church as it now stands was rebuilt, we are told, by Paschal II in 1111. The frescoes (which, strictly speaking, are not in the Quattro Incoronati, but in the chapel of St. Silvester adjoining it) are said to be of the twelfth century. But the original church of the Quatuor Coronati was built by Honorius I about 622. Is it not probable that there were mosaics in it, of which the present frescoes are more or less accurate copies?

Flavius Constantinus, . . . faithful, gentle, mightiest, beneficent, conqueror of the Goths, of the Sarmatians, of the Germans, of the Britons and of the Huns[1] (!), pious, fortunate, conqueror and triumpher, ever Augustus, to the most holy and blessed Father of Fathers, Silvester, bishop of Rome and Pope, and to all his successors in the seat of St. Peter to the end of the world...and to all the most reverend...Catholic bishops in the whole world who are by this our imperial decree made subject to the same Holy Roman Church,... Grace, peace, charity, joy, long-suffering and compassion from God the Father Almighty, and from Jesus Christ His Son, and the Holy Ghost, be with all of you.'

After a long exposition of his new creed and a repetition of the story of the leprosy, the vision, the baptism and miraculous cure[2], the Emperor continues:—

'Therefore we, along with all our Satraps (!) and the whole Senate, Nobles and People subject to the Roman Church, have thought it desirable that even as St. Peter is on earth the appointed Vicar of God, so also the Pontiffs his vicegerents should receive from us and from our empire power and principality greater than belongs to our earthly empire. For we choose the same Prince of the Apostles and his vicars to be our patrons before God, and we decree that even like unto our own earthly imperial power so shall the sacro-sanct Church of Rome be honoured and venerated, and that higher than our terrestrial throne shall the most sacred seat of St. Peter be gloriously exalted.

'Let him who for the time presides over the holy

[1] The date of the alleged Donation was at least half a century before the first appearance of the Huns in Europe.

[2] This part is omitted from many copies of the Donation.

BK. VIII. CH. 7. Church of Rome have supremacy over the four sees of Alexandria, of Antioch, of Jerusalem, and of Constantinople, and let him be sovereign of all the priests in the whole world, and by his judgment let all things which pertain to the worship of God or the faith of Christians be regulated.

'We wish all nations in the whole world to be informed that we have within our Lateran palace reared from its foundations a church to our Saviour and Lord God, Jesus Christ; and know ye that we have from the foundations thereof borne on our own shoulders twelve baskets-full of earth according to the number of the twelve Apostles. Which most holy church we decree shall be called the head and summit of all churches in the whole world[1], and shall be venerated and proclaimed as such, even as we have ordained in other our imperial decrees. We have also built churches for the blessed Peter and Paul, chiefs of the Apostles, enriching them with gold and silver, and have laid their most sacred bodies therein with great reverence, making for them coffins of amber (which is surpassed in strength by none of the elements), and on each of these coffins we have placed a cross of purest gold and most precious gems, fastening them thereto with golden nails.

'On these churches, for the maintenance of the lights burned in them, we have bestowed sundry farm-properties, and have enriched them with divers estates both in the East and the West, in the North and the South, namely in Judaea, Greece, Asia, Thrace, Africa and Italy, as well as in divers islands. All these are

[1] 'Caput et verticem omnium ecclesiarum in universo orbe terrarum.'

to be administered by the hands of our most blessed father Silvester, *Summus Pontifex* [1], and his successors.

'We grant to the said Silvester and his successors the imperial palace of the Lateran, and also the diadem or crown, and the *Phrygium* [2]: moreover the *superhumerale* or necklace which is wont to surround our imperial neck: the purple mantle also and scarlet tunic and all the imperial trappings, as well as the dignity of the imperial mounted guards. We bestow upon him also the imperial sceptre, with all standards and banners and similar imperial ornaments, and in short the whole array of our imperial dignity and the glory of our power [3].

'To the men of a different rank, namely the most reverend clergy of the Roman Church, we grant the same height of dignity wherewith our most illustrious Senate is adorned, namely that they be made patricians and consuls, and we announce that they shall be adorned with other imperial dignities.

'And as our own civil service hath its special decorations, so we decree that the clergy of the holy Roman Church shall be adorned: and that the said Church be ministered unto by janitors and chamberlains [4], such as those who wait upon us, the Emperor. And that the pontifical splendour may shine forth as brilliantly

[1] This title was still borne by the chief of the pagan college of priests.

[2] 'Tiara.'

[3] In the original the adjective *imperialis* occurs here six times in one sentence.

[4] On this clause, conceding to the Pope the right to be waited on by *ostiarii* and *cubicularii*, Döllinger remarks (p. 87) that till the middle of the eighth century, we only hear of imperial *cubicularii*. The first papal *cubicularius* that we hear of is Paulus Afiarta, under Stephen III (768–772) and Hadrian I (772–795).

BK. VIII. CH. 7. as possible, we decree that the clergy of the Roman Church ride on horses adorned with saddle-cloths and trappings of the purest white[1]: and like our senators, let them wear *udones*[2] or white shoes: and thus let the heavenly ranks, like the earthly ranks, be adorned for the greater glory of God.

'The blessed Silvester and his successors shall have the power of enrolling whom they will in the number of the clergy, none presuming to say that they have acted arrogantly herein.

'We have already decreed that he and his successors should wear a diadem such as ours of purest gold and precious stones. But the most blessed Pope would not consent to use a golden crown besides the crown of clerisy which he wears to the glory of the most blessed Peter[3]. We have however with our own hands placed on his most holy head a tiara[4] of dazzling whiteness, symbolising the resurrection of our Lord; and holding the bridle of his horse we have performed for

[1] 'Mappulis et linteaminibus candidissimo colore decoratos.' The use of the white saddle-cloths, *mappulae*, was a privilege of which the Roman clergy were very tenacious. Gregory the Great (Ep. iii. 54) tells the Archbishop of Ravenna that the Roman clergy will on no account concede to the clergy of Ravenna the right to saddle their horses with *mappulae*; also in the Liber Pontificalis the biographer laments the weakness of Pope Conon (about 687) in allowing the deacon Constantine of Syracuse, *rector* of the Sicilian patrimony, to use such a saddle-cloth (i. 369).

[2] The *udo* seems to have been a sandal or slipper made of wool; a 'cloth-shoe' suitable for elderly and sometimes gouty ecclesiastics.

[4] From this passage it is thought that the Pope was already in the eighth century wearing a gold circlet round his tiara. The double crown appears to date from the thirteenth and the triple crown from the fourteenth century.

[5] Phrygium.

him the duties of a groom out of our reverence for the blessed Peter [1]; ordaining that his successors shall use the same tiara in processions, in imitation of our imperial style.'

The reader who has had the patience to proceed thus far may very likely think that though the document is tedious, sometimes inconsistent with itself, and instinct with all an ecclesiastic's love for goodly raiment, there is nothing which need have made the Donation of Constantine, whether true or false, a landmark in the history of Italy. The important paragraph is that which follows, and which, as every word is here of weight, shall be translated literally:—

'Wherefore, that the pontifical crown may not grow too cheap, but may be adorned with glory and influence even beyond the dignity of the earthly empire, lo! we hand over and relinquish our palace, the city of Rome, and all the provinces, places and cities of Italy and [or] the western regions, to the most blessed Pontiff and universal Pope, Silvester; and we ordain by our pragmatic constitution that they shall be governed by him and his successors, and we grant that they shall remain under the authority of the holy Roman Church [2].

[1] 'Et tenentes fraenum equi ipsius pro reverentiâ beati Petri stratoris officium illi exhibuimus.'

[2] 'Unde ut pontificalis apex non vilescat, sed magis quam terreni Imperii dignitas, gloriâ et potentiâ decoretur, ecce tam palatium nostrum quam Romanam urbem et omnes Italiae sive occidentalium regionum provincias, loca, civitates, beatissimo Pontifici et universali Papae Silvestro tradimus atque relinquimus, et ab eo et a successoribus ejus per pragmaticum constitutum decrevimus disponenda atque juri sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae concedimus permanenda.' The reader will observe that *sive* is

BK. VIII. CH. 7. 'Wherefore we have thought it fitting that our empire and our royal power be transferred to the Eastern regions, and that a city bearing our name be built in an excellent place in the province of Byzantia, and that there our empire be founded, since where the sovereign of priests and the head of the Christian religion has been placed by the Heavenly Emperor, it is not fitting that there the earthly emperor should also bear sway.'

The document ends with solemn injunctions to all future Emperors, to all nobles, 'satraps,' and senators, to keep this grant for ever inviolate. Anathemas are uttered on any one who shall dare to infringe it; and hell-fire is invoked for his destruction. As the fabricator of the document must have known that he was, on the most favourable construction of his conduct, writing a mere ecclesiastical romance, these references to eternal punishment should not have been included. The document is laid on the body of the blessed Peter as a pledge to the Apostle that Constantine on his part will keep it ever inviolable.

It bears date on the third day before the Kalends of April (30th of March), Constantine being for the fourth time consul, with Gallicanus for his colleague. No such consulship exists in the Fasti. The Emperor was for the fourth time consul in 315, with his brother-in-law and co-Emperor Licinius for his colleague. The consulship of Gallicanus was in 330, five years after the council of Nicaea, and the Emperor Constantine was not his colleague.

taken as equivalent to *and*, according to the usual incorrect use of the word at this time, though it cannot be said that the translation *or* is quite impossible.

Birth-place of this fiction.

A few words must be said as to the place and time wherein this extraordinary fiction had its birth. An attempt has been made[1] to cast off upon some Greek ecclesiastic the responsibility for its authorship, but this attempt is now generally admitted to have failed. It undoubtedly springs from Rome, probably from the papal chancery in Rome. The earnestness with which the writer exerts himself to secure for the Roman clergy the use of *mappulae et linteamina* makes it probable that he was one of the favoured persons who had the right to perambulate the streets of ruined Rome on a steed covered with a horse-cloth of dazzling whiteness. The general similarity of style to some of the eighth-century lives in the Liber Pontificalis suggests the thought that the author of the Donation may have been one of the scribes who in the pages of that compilation denounced the 'most unutterable' Aistulf or celebrated the mildness of the 'quasi-angelic' Stephen.

Its date.

For, to come to the question of date, there is not much doubt that this document belongs to the middle or possibly the later half of the eighth century. It is already included in the so-called Decretals of Isidore, published about 840, and in the collection of Formulae of S. Denis of about the same period. But we may probably trace it to an earlier date than this; for it is almost certain that Pope Hadrian alludes to this document in a letter which he wrote to Charles the Great in 777[2], and there is some force in

[1] By Baronius and others.

[2] 'Et sicut temporibus beati Silvestri Romani pontificis a sanctae recordationis piissimo Constantino magno imperatore per ejus largitatem sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia elevata

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Döllinger's argument that a document of this kind would not have been fabricated after 774, when the Frankish king showed his determination to found a kingdom for himself on the ruins of the Lombard monarchy. There is therefore much to be said for the view that the Donation was fabricated shortly before the year 754. But on this subject there may probably for some time be considerable variation of opinion, as one theory after another is advanced by scholars to account for the original concoction of a document so wildly at variance with historical fact.

Responsibility for the deception.

With any more detailed discussion on this point I do not think it necessary to trouble my readers. Nor do I feel myself bound even to speak of it as a forgery, much less to impute complicity with the forgery to any one of the Popes who cross the stage of my history. In an absolutely ignorant and uncritical age many a fiction passes for fact without deliberate and conscious imposture on the part of any single individual. There were doubtless romancers and story-tellers after their dull fashion in that eighth century as in our own, for the human imagination has never been lulled into absolute torpor. What if some clerk in the papal chancery amused his leisure by composing, in a style not always unskilfully imitated from that of Justinian or Theodosius, an edict which the first Christian Emperor might have published on the morrow of that Roman baptism which, though itself imaginary, was then firmly believed to be real? What if this paper, recognised at the time by all who knew its author as a mere romance,

atque exaltata est et potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus largiri dignatus' (Codex Carolinus, 61).

was left in the papal archives and (it may be years after the death of its author) was found by some zealous *exceptor* eager for material wherewith to confute the Lombard or convince the Frank? In some such way as this it is surely possible that, without any deliberate act of fraud on any one's part, the lie may have got itself recognised as truth [1].

Later history of the imposture.

Into the after-history of this fabrication I must not now enter minutely, though there is something almost fascinating in the subject, and indeed the story of the Donation of Constantine fully told would almost be the history of the Middle Ages. It was hidden, as it were, for a time under a bushel, and was not made so much use of by the Popes of the ninth and tenth centuries as we should have expected. But towards the end of the eleventh century we find it put in the forefront of the battle by the advocates of Hildebrand's world-ruling papal theocracy. Under Innocent III, Gregory IX, Boniface VIII, it is constantly appealed to in support of their pretensions to rule as feudal suzerains over Italy, over the Holy Roman Empire, over the world. For three centuries after this, the canonists take the Donation as the basis of their airy edifices, some expanding, some restricting its purport, but none of them apparently entertaining any suspicion of the genuineness of the document itself [2].

[1] I do not offer the above suggestion as the most probable account of the *Entstehung* of the fictitious Donation. I merely state it as a possible solution of the riddle, in order to show that the easiest, and certainly the most probable solution, that of conscious fraud and deliberate forgery, is not the only one, and that we are not necessarily constrained to its acceptance.

[2] Döllinger remarks (p. 108, n. 4) that there was a nearer approach to sound criticism on the subject in the twelfth century

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So long-lived and so mighty is Falsehood. Like the Genie in the Arabian Nights, this story of an imperial abdication in favour of the Pope, which had crept out of that dark *scriptorium* in the Lateran palace grew and swelled and overshadowed all Europe. Then came a scholar of the Renaissance and uttered a few words of caustic doubt, and the Genie shrank back into the bottle and was hurled into the depths of the sea, whence it can no more emerge to trouble the nations.

The fiction exploded by Laurentius Valla.

The 'Declamatio' of Laurentius Valla, too declamatory as it is and not always attacking from the right quarter (for he seems to accept the Roman baptism of the Emperor as an undoubted fact), still had the effect of piercing the bubble which had so long befooled the world. Some feeble attempts were made to restore the credit of the Constantinian Donation, but they were judged hopeless by the rapidly growing scholarship of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and when at last even Cardinal Baronius, that staunch supporter of papal claims, who fought even for the baptism of the Emperor by Silvester, abandoned the edict which was said to have followed it, all Europe knew that this question at least was laid to rest, and that it would hear no more of any claims seriously urged in right of the Donation of Constantine.

The Donation as illustrating the mental

We have glanced at the circumstances attending the death of the fable, but our business is with its birth. As I have said, I do not propose to discuss

than in the fifteenth. 'As far as historical intelligence went, the human mind seems to have retrograded rather than progressed in the three centuries' before the Renaissance.

the question whether it first took shape on parchment in 750 or 770; whether the first scribe who wrote the Donation intended a harmless romance or planned a wicked forgery. All these discussions are beyond my present purpose, which is to deal with what the Donation tells us as to the state of men's minds in Rome about the middle of the eighth century. We are conscious at once of a great gulf separating the ideas of that age from those which were prevalent at the beginning of the seventh century. We then saw a Pope, perhaps the greatest of all the Popes, Gregory the Great, struggling for liberty, almost for life, 'between the swords of the Lombards.' The necessities of his position forced him sometimes to over-step the strict limits of his spiritual realm, to appoint a tribune of soldiers, to rebuke a careless general, to conclude a provisional treaty; and his contest with the Patriarch of Constantinople extorted from him sometimes bitter cries and complaints against the Emperor into whose ear the Patriarch was whispering. But through all I think we may say that Gregory the First bore himself as the loyal, though often the deeply-dissatisfied subject of the Emperor, and there is never a hint of a disposition on his part to claim temporal dominion as against his Sovereign or to pose as the rightful civil ruler of Italy. Now we see that there is a change. In the middle of the eighth century it is evidently the feeling of the clerics of the Lateran, not only that they should ride on horses covered with white saddle-cloths—that they probably did in the days of Gregory;—not only that the Pope, since he waived the right of wearing the imperial diadem, ought to wear a tiara with a circlet

history of the eighth century.

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of gold, the mark of his clerisy, and should be waited upon by janitors, chamberlains, guards, in imitation of imperial magnificence; but also that he ought to govern, as a king or an emperor, 'the city of Rome, and all the provinces and cities of Italy and of the West,' whatever extension of his rule might be intended by these last words of awful and ambiguous import.

Henceforth when we hear, as we often shall do, of the rights and claims and privileges of Peter, we must remember that, at least in the thoughts or the aspirations of some Roman ecclesiastics, these words include a large measure of temporal sovereignty for their head, the Bishop of Rome. The claim to undisturbed possession of the property with which the Papal See has been endowed, the so-called 'Patrimonies of St. Peter,' is included in these words as it was included in them during the pontificate of the first Gregory, but there is also something more, further reaching, more world-historical in their purport. We are dealing now not merely with estates, but with kingdoms. And in this connection we have to remember the nature of the process by which the Pope became Pope. Zacharias or Stephen, Paul or Hadrian, is not a hereditary ruler, he is the elected head of a mighty corporation, wielding the strongest moral and intellectual forces at that time existing in the world[1]. When he seeks to establish and to extend his temporal dominion he is not merely 'fighting for his own hand,' he is not merely seeking to gratify his own arrogance and ambition—though these very

[1] Possibly one ought to except from this statement the Saracen Caliph.

human qualities undoubtedly played their part—but he is also striving for the honour and glory of the great college of ecclesiastics which has chosen him for its head, and by means of which he has risen from obscurity to greatness. If we may borrow an illustration from modern politics, the jealousy of a British First Lord of the Treasury for the dignity and honour of Parliament represents the jealousy of an eighth-century Pope for the glory and aggrandisement of the chair of St. Peter.

Causes of the heightened tone of papal pretensions in the eighth century.

As I have said, however, we shall find that the claims of Peter as urged by Stephen II are an entirely different quantity from those same claims as urged by Gregory I. Whence comes the change which has been wrought in those hundred and fifty years? Partly no doubt from the dense ignorance which has overspread Rome and the west of Europe and which has made such a fable as that of Constantine's Donation possible. We are moving now through a region of mist and twilight, and the few forms that we can discern loom larger through the darkness. The collapse of the Teutonic royalties in Gaul and Spain may have helped somewhat, leaving the Pope of Rome greater by comparison. The estrangement between Italy and Constantinople on the question of the worship of images undoubtedly was a factor in the problem, though its influence has been sometimes exaggerated. It seems possible that the uprise of the religion of Mohammed strengthened the position of the Papacy, exhibiting as it did great religious leaders such as the early Caliphs in command of mighty armies and lords of a world-wide empire. Moreover, the very danger at which Christian Europe shuddered when it saw Islam overspreading

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the world, may have suggested the necessity of discipline and the union of Christendom under one spiritual head.

Zeal of the Saxon converts on behalf of the Papacy.

But after all it was probably our own countrymen who bore the chief part in the exaltation of St. Peter's chair. The Gallican Church had been lukewarm, the Celtic missionaries had been all but hostile, but the new Anglo-Saxon converts, the spiritual children of Augustine and Theodore, could scarcely find words to express their passionate loyalty and devotion to the Bishop of Rome. We have seen a little of what Boniface and his companions were doing in Germany and Gaul. To these men whom I have already called, from this aspect of their work, the Jesuits of the eighth century, must in great measure be attributed the lordlier tone in which the Popes with whom we are now dealing utter their mandates to the nations.

One word in conclusion, not by way of polemic, but in order to make it possible to avoid polemic in the pages that are to follow. It will be seen that I treat the claims to temporal dominion urged in the name of St. Peter as absolutely fantastic and visionary. The Apostle himself, the rock-like stay and support of his brethren in the first age of Christianity, is of course no myth, but a historical personage as real as Xavier or Livingstone. The theory that he was bishop of Rome, and that, in fulfilment of words spoken to him by Jesus Christ, supernatural gifts for the teaching and guidance of the Church have been bestowed on all his successors, is a theory which, though it finds no foothold in the mind of the present writer, has been held by too many generations of devout and earnest Christians to be mentioned here with anything

but respect and sympathy. But the notion common in the Middle Ages, that the holy man, from his resting-place in the Paradise of God, is acutely interested in the precise delimitation of the boundaries of his successors' kingdom, and by supernatural means seeks to retain for them Perugia or Comacchio—this notion, which is I believe no part of the essential teaching of the Roman Church and which has faded or is fading out of the minds of men, seems to me mere mythology, as much so as the story of the intervention of Juno and Venus in the wars of Troy. But even mythology has often influenced history. It was in the name of the Delphic Apollo and to avenge the encroachments of the Phocians on the territory of the god that those Sacred Wars were waged which brought Philip of Macedon into the heart of Greece and indirectly gave Alexander the supremacy of the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE EXARCHATE.

Sources:—

The life of Pope Stephen II in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS is one of the least unsatisfactory of these papal biographies. There is of course a lavish use of epithets. The Pope is always 'most holy,' 'most blessed,' or 'quasi-angelical'; Pippin is 'most Christian,' or 'most benign'; Aistulf is 'most cruel,' 'most wicked,' 'malignant,' and 'pestiferous,' and the perpetual repetition of these adjectives makes the narrative go heavily. The entire absence of local colour in the description of the Pope's passage of the Alps during his journey into Gaul makes it probable that the biographer was not one of the companions of that journey. And, as Duchesne points out, there are several inaccuracies in his account of previous negotiations between the Popes and the Austrasian Mayors. But the writer gives names and even one or two dates with apparent accuracy, and we can discover from his narrative something of the real course of events. It is however noteworthy that the territorial aggrandisement of the Papacy seems to be the only subject that interests him. Except for the foundation and repair of houses for the reception of pilgrims we hear of no other object to which the Pope's energies were directed, except the acquisition of the Exarchate.

The CODEX CAROLINUS, or collection of the letters written by the Popes to the Frankish rulers, becomes now our most important authority. This collection begins with two letters of Gregory III to Charles Martel, and one of Zacharias to Pippin. The remaining

ninety-six are addressed either to Pippin or to his son Charles, and are the production of the Popes from Stephen II to Hadrian inclusive. It is a great misfortune for us that we do not possess the answers of the Frankish kings; still even without these the letters, when carefully arranged as far as may be in chronological order, give us most valuable information as to the relations between the Popes and their Frankish patrons. The originals of the letters were probably written on paper, according to the custom then prevailing in the papal curia, and were therefore in danger of soon falling to pieces. Charles, as we learn from the Prologue to the Codex, had them carefully copied on parchment, 'in order,' as he says, 'that no evidence which would benefit Holy Church might be wanting to his successors.' One cannot, however, entirely silence the suggestion that one reason for making this collection was that Charles found Holy Church continually enlarging her ideas as to the 'justitiae beati Petri,' and that he wished to have documentary evidence of the successive bargains between himself and his papal friends.

There is only one MS. of the Codex Carolinus, dating from the close of the ninth century, and now preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It has been very carefully edited by Philip Jaffé in his Monumenta Carolina (Berlin, 1867); and I quote from his edition.

Guides :—

Oelsner, Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Pippin. Leipzig, 1871.

The important question of the so-called Donation of Pippin is carefully discussed by Theodor *Lindner* in 'Die sogenannten Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen und Ottos I' (Stuttgart, 1896), and Wilhelm *Martens* in Die Römische Frage (Stuttgart, 1881) and a supplement (Beleuchtung, &c.), (Munich, 1898).

A FEW months after the elevation of Pippin to the royal dignity a new and a most important actor appeared upon the scene of European politics. To-

Death of Pope Zacharias, March, 752.

[1] 'Memoralibus membranis . . . renovare ac rescribere decrevit.'

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wards the end of March[1], 752, Pope Zacharias died. A presbyter named Stephen was elected in his place, but on the third morning after he had taken up his quarters in the Lateran palace, on arising from sleep he was struck down by an apoplectic seizure, of which he died on the following day. The people were assembled in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, and chose as Pope another Stephen, who was immediately installed in the vacant see[2].

Election and death of Stephen.

Pontificate of Stephen II, 752-757.

This Pope (more correctly known as Stephen II than as Stephen III, for the short pontificate of his predecessor ought not to enter into the calculation[3]) was of Roman origin, and having been early left an orphan had been brought up in the Lateran palace. He was thus emphatically the child and champion of the Papacy, apparently a man of more combative spirit and more ambitious temper than his predecessor, and was destined during the five short years of his pontificate to battle more valiantly than any who had gone before him for the ideas of temporal sovereignty and worldly dominion with which the Lateran palace was teeming.

Capture of Ravenna by the Lombards.

But indeed if any such visions as those dreamed by the author of the Donation of Constantine were to become realities there was no time to lose. Already, a

[1] The present text of the Liber Pontificalis gives as the date the Ides of March (Mar. 15), which Duchesne (p. cclxii) corrects to the 22nd or 23rd of that month.

[2] Duchesne says on March 26, only four days after the death of Zacharias. His authority must be regarded as decisive: otherwise the words which are found in the later editions of the Liber Pontificalis, 'et cessavit Episcopatus dies xii,' would have seemed to give a more probable account of the matter.

[3] See Duchesne, L. P., 456, n. 3: 'cette façon de compter est étrange au moyen âge et surtout au L. P.'

year before the death of Zacharias, an event had taken place which altered the whole balance of power in Italy. This was the capture of Ravenna by Aistulf, king of the Lombards. As to this event, one of such vast importance for Italy and for Europe, we are left by all the chroniclers and biographers of the time in exasperating ignorance. We know not whether the city fell by blockade or by sudden assault; nor how the marshes and canals which had protected her for so many centuries were overpassed; we do not even know the name of her last imperial governor, though as no Exarch is named after Eutychius[1], it is conjectured that he may have been the man. All that we can say with certainty is that an apparently genuine charter among the archives of the monastery of Farfa is given forth by 'Haistulfus rex' and dated by him 'Ravennae in palatio' on the 4th of July in the year 751[2].

We note with some surprise the date of the downfall of Byzantine rule over Italy as exercised from Ravenna. Under many weak and inefficient emperors that rule had endured, and now under a sovereign of the strong and warlike Isaurian race, under the stern, self-sufficing and energetic Constantine Copronymus, it comes to an end. Probably the iconoclastic controversy was the chief cause of this strange result. The revolts which about 730 broke forth in Italy had indeed apparently been suppressed, but the chasm between the ruler and the ruled had probably never been closed,

[1] See vol. vi. pp. 455, 495.

[2] The date is 'anno regni iii per Indictionem iv.' Apparently it was at the very beginning of the third year of Aistulf's reign, if not on the anniversary of his accession. See the document in 'Il Regesto di Farfa,' ii. xxiii (or 18).

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and Constantine V may have felt that it was better for him to devote all his energies to the defence of the East against the Saracens than to waste troops and treasure in warding off the assaults of the Lombards on a city the inhabitants of which would hail the first opportunity for escaping from under his rule.

In another aspect the date of the fall of Ravenna is a memorable one. It differs only by three years from the date before the birth of Christ which is generally assigned to the foundation of Rome. Romulus founding his little city in 754 B.C.; the Roman Empire practically extinguished in Italy in 751 A.D.; such are the two landmarks on either side of the central event in the history of the world; and the length of the long uphill road from Romulus to Augustus makes us better appreciate the often foreshortened distance from Augustus to Aistulf.

Pope and Lombard king thus left face to face in Italy.

It was assuredly a mistake in Aistulf's statesmanship, however tempting might be the looseness of the Byzantine hold upon Italy, to drive the Emperor's representative out of Ravenna. The balance of power was thus destroyed; a governor in whom Liutprand had found a useful ally was removed, the Pope was relieved from what had in past days been a galling dependence on the Exarch, and he and the Lombard were now left face to face to fight out their deadly duel.

Character of Aistulf the Lombard king.

What were the distinguishing characteristics of the two combatants who were thus entering the lists to strive for the sovereignty of Italy? On the one hand Aistulf, son of Duke Pemmo of Friuli and of that Griselda-like wife of his, Ratperga, who was so ashamed of her plain face and clownish figure that

732.
Battle of Poictiers.

with exaggerated humility she begged, but vainly begged, her husband to divorce her[1]. That Aistulf was a strong man and a brave soldier had been clearly shown on that great day of the battle of the Metaurus when he hurled the two Spoletan champions over the bridge[2]. That he was a man of stormy and impetuous nature he manifested when, at Pavia, at the scene of his father's deposition, in his wrath at Liutprand's cold contempt he was on the point of murdering the Lombard king[3]. But though he was such a sovereign as we might expect to find ruling over a still half-civilised people, the historian discovers nothing in the recorded actions of Aistulf to justify the epithets 'cruelest,' 'wickedest,' 'malignant,' 'impious,' 'most atrocious,' which are hurled thick at his head by the passionate papal biographer[4]. The student of these pontifical lives soon learns that adjectives like these only mean that the Pope and the man who is thus described were striving for mastery. The laws of this king seem to show a wise and statesmanlike care for the morals of his subjects; and his numerous grants to various religious houses in his dominions prove that we are not here dealing with a determined enemy of the Catholic Church such as the Gaiseric and Huneric of an earlier century. But that which was truly blameworthy in Aistulf was that, after he had provoked a struggle, he would not accept the consequences of defeat. He was willing to promise anything when the enemy's hand was upon

[1] See vol. vi. p. 333.
[2] See vol. vi. p. 481.
[3] See vol. vi. p. 469.
[4] In two pages of the Liber Pontificalis (441 and 442, ed. Duchesne) Aistulf is called 'crudelissimus rex,' 'nequissimus,' 'malignus rex,' 'rex impius,' 'atrocissimus Langobardorum rex.'

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his throat, but as soon as the pressure was relaxed and he was left to himself he at once began to cast about for excuses for delaying or altogether evading the fulfilment of his promise. Most of us have met such persons as this in actual life, and have generally found that all their shifts and evasions only make their final fall more calamitous[1].

Character of Stephen II.

On the other hand stands Stephen the Roman, Pope of Rome. If I read his character aright, he was less of an ecclesiastic and more of a politician than his predecessor. In the case of Zacharias the evangelisation of Germany and the restoration of 'a godly discipline' in Gaul seem to have been the objects nearest to his heart; while to Stephen the establishment of his lordship over some of the fairest parts of Italy and the fulfilment in some degree at least of the splendid dreams of the Donation of Constantine seem to be the sole objects worth striving for. With this end in view, and knowing that he must thereby be brought sooner or later into collision with the Lombard ruler, he doubtless often meditated on the fact that his predecessor, even the unworldly and unambitious Zacharias, had provided him with a strong buckler of

[1] We must not insist too strongly on the conventional epithets of praise which Pope Stephen II himself gives to Aistulf in a bull relating to the long controversy between the sees of Arezzo and Siena which bears date May 20, 752, two months after Stephen's elevation to the pontificate. In this bull (No. 661 in Troya's Codice Diplomatico Longobardo), while Liutprand is 'praecellentissimus bonae memoriae Liutprandus,' Aistulf is 'Aistulfum excellentissimum Regem: qui praecellentissimus Rex a Sedis Apostolicae judicio subtrahere noluit' a certain ecclesiastical offender who had fled to him for protection. Still it is worthy of notice that these complimentary epithets are applied to Aistulf some time after he had made himself master of Ravenna.

defence against his foes by the answer which he had given to the Frankish messengers; that Pippin, anointed king of the Franks in the name of St. Peter and by the hands of Boniface, was morally compelled to afford to the Papal See that protection which Charles Martel had refused to furnish.

The Lombard king on his side, as judged not by the passionate scribes of the Lateran but by the calm voice of History, may be held to have been pursuing not unworthy aims. The Byzantine Exarch and his train of Oriental foreigners once driven out of Italy, Ravenna and the Pentapolis firmly joined to the solid Lombard dominion north of the Po, the connection between the north and centre of Italy would be assured, the great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento would be restrained from their disloyal, 'centrifugal' policy which could only end in disaster to the Lombard name, and the successors of Aistulf might one day rule over a harmonious and united Italy such as had once been so nearly formed by the wise policy of Theodoric.

Existence of a party in Rome favourable to the Lombards.

We have also to observe that in all that part of Italy which had been subject to the Empire there was probably a party not unfavourable to the claims of the Lombard king. Of Rome itself it is asserted by a chronicler, who though late has some pieces of valuable information intermingled with his rubbish, that 'certain wicked men, Romans, arose and sent word to king Aistulf that he should come and take possession of the Tuscan frontier and usurp the Roman Empire[1].'

[1] 'Tunc surrexerunt viri Romani scelerati et intimaverunt Aistulfo regi ut venirent (*sic*) et possiderunt (*sic*) Tusciae finibus

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However slender may be the authority for this statement, it corresponds in some measure with the probable course of events. The disturbances which will have hereafter to be related, following on the death of Pope Paul, clearly reveal the existence of a Lombardising party in the City of Rome. The two nations, Roman and Lombard, had now been in close contact for nearly two centuries. Relations of commerce, probably of intermarriage, must have grown up between them during the long years of peace. And moreover, even the rule of the Lombard king, harsh and irregular as it may have been and often exercised through corrupt instruments, may have seemed preferable to that of a college of priests or the representative of an absentee and practically powerless Emperor.

The Lombard king and the *Ducatus Romae.*

As for the *Ducatus Romae*, it seems clear that the Lombard king was bent on extorting from it at least the acknowledgment of his supremacy and the payment of a poll-tax by its inhabitants. Whether he would have gone beyond this and insisted on interfering with its internal affairs may perhaps be doubted, for these semi-barbarian conquerors were not generally great organisers or re-modellers of the administration. To the Pope especially and to the Papal Curia we may believe that they would have left a large measure of independence if only they had been willing to acquiesce in the extension of Lombard rule over all that had been imperial Italy. But no such life on sufferance would satisfy the present mood of the

Papal claims to imperial Italy.

et Romanum imperium usurparent.' Chronicle of the blessed St. Andrew (a tenth-century writer), c. 17 (Pertz, Monumenta, iii. 703).

Roman pontiffs. They were determined to assert their claim to rule over all those portions of Italy which had remained imperial at the time of the Lombard invasion. So much at least should be theirs, the question as to the Lombard portions of Italy being reserved for future discussion. And these portions of Italy seem to have been claimed on some such theory as the following, and by arguments which were independent of the Donation of Constantine, though they may have usefully buttressed up the weak places in that wonderful document. 'The Pentapolis and Exarchate have hitherto belonged to the Roman Empire, though the man who now bears the title of Roman Emperor has proved himself unable to preserve them. But the Roman Empire means the Roman Republic, and the true representative of the City of Rome, if the Emperor abdicates his power, is the bishop of that City. And the bishop of Rome is the successor of St. Peter, and the Apostle from his high place in heaven watches over the interests of his successors. Therefore whosoever interferes with our claim to exercise temporal dominion over the fragments of Italy which of late were governed in the name of the Emperor at Constantinople, incurs the wrath of St. Peter, and will be shut out by the great Key-bearer from the kingdom of heaven.'

The question was further complicated and an element of less shadowy right was given to the papal claims by the existence of the vast estates, the so-called 'Patrimonies of St. Peter,' which were scattered far and wide over Italy, and in which the Popes exercised undoubted rights, not as sovereigns, but as proprietors. Some account of these patrimonies has

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already been given in connection with the history of Gregory the Great[1], and we may well believe that as the same causes which had led to their creation continued to operate, the estates of the Church of Rome would be not less but far more extensive in 750 than in 600. On these estates a Lombard king, moving his armies backwards and forwards over Italy, was almost compelled to trample. Even a modern strategist, with the scientific maps of a military staff at his disposal, would not always find it easy to avoid marching through these wide-stretching patrimonies; and an army's march in those days, far more than in ours, meant inevitably more or less of devastation. Thus it would be not entirely without justification from a strictly legal point of view that after such a campaign the Pope should utter his shrill cries to his Frankish ally, calling upon him to take vengeance on the Lombard for his violation of the 'justitiae' or rights of St. Peter.

The strife between Pope and Lombard not a religious war.

But in all this contest which is now looming before us there is not really any religious interest at stake. We must not of course look forward to the great religious wars of the sixteenth century; nor must we look back to the strife between Arian and Catholic in the fifth century. The Lombards are now in doctrine absolutely in accord with the Roman Church. In their public documents they insist on calling themselves the Catholic and God-beloved nation of the Lombards[2]; and their kings (no doubt by the advice of their clerical counsellors) continually

[1] See vol. v. p. 309.

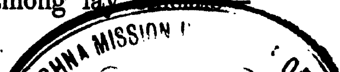
[2] See the prologues to the Laws of Ratchis and Aistulf.

express sentiments of the most edifying piety in their charters and edicts. The opposition is not religious, but it is political and racial; the antagonism of two sovereigns, each of whom yearns to make himself lord of Italy; the loathing mingled with fear and contempt which the dainty Roman entertains for the strong, unkempt, and (as he avers) uncleanly Lombard.

It has been necessary to give this sketch of the aims and feelings of the two contending parties, because for the next twenty eventful years we shall be practically dependent on one litigant alone for the story of the great law-suit. The lives and letters of the Popes are really our sole source for the history of the Frankish conquest of Italy. Each reader will have to judge for himself what amount of correction the statements thus delivered to us require in order to make them correspond with the veritable facts of history.

Negociations between Stephen II and Aistulf, 752.

According to the papal biographer, while the newly elected Pope was attending to the philanthropic duties of his calling, founding and restoring alms-houses, and providing for the maintenance of one hundred of 'Christ's poor,' a great persecution was commenced by Aistulf, king of the Lombards, in the city of Rome and the towns surrounding it. Hereupon the most blessed Pope, in the third month from his ordination, sent messengers to conclude a treaty of peace with the Lombard king. The messengers were the Pope's brother Paul (himself one day to wear the Papal tiara), and Ambrose, a tried and trusty servant of the Lateran, who had held for many years the high place—highest among lay officials— June, 752.



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of *Primicerius Notariorum*[1]. They took large presents in their hands, and succeeded in concluding a treaty of peace with Aistulf for forty years, similar probably to that which Zacharias had concluded for twenty years with his brother Ratchis.

Aistulf's threatened invasion of Roman territory. Oct. 752.

'But nevertheless,' says the biographer, 'that impudent king of the Lombards, tempted by the cunning of the Old Enemy[2], barely four months afterwards committed perjury and broke the treaty, inflicting divers insults on the most holy man and the whole Roman people, directing various threats against him. For in his God-abandoned blindness he longed to invade the whole of this province [the *Ducatus Romae*] and to inflict a burdensome tribute on the inhabitants of this City, yearning to exact a poll-tax of one *solidus* annually from every citizen, and indignantly asserting that this Roman City and the towns surrounding it were all subject to his jurisdiction.'

The reader will observe that so far we have not come to actual bloodshed. Aistulf puts forward claims to jurisdiction and taxation, which he perhaps alleges to be justified by the forty years' treaty, but he does not yet enforce them by the sword. He only

[1] The *Primicerius Notariorum* in the court of Theodoric seems to have held an office with which was combined that of Count of Sacred Largesses (see Cassiodori Variae, vi. 7). He certainly ranked at least as a *Spectabilis*, if not as an *Illustris* (see vol. i. p. 208; p. 603 in second edition). In the Papal Court, on the death of a Pope it was the *Primicerius Notariorum* upon whom, with the Archpresbyter and Archdeacon, devolved the duty of notifying the vacancy of the pontificate to the Exarch, Archbishop, and other officials at Ravenna. (See Liber Diurnus, lix, lxi, lxii, and lxiii.)

[2] The Devil; see vol. iv. p. 481 (426).

'desires' and 'yearns' to do so, and with that old passionate temper of his 'indignantly' asserts what he deems to be his rights[1]. BK. VIII. CH 8. 752.

Papal embassy to Aistulf.

Seeing how the storm of the king's anger was brewing, the Pope sent again two messengers to appease his wrath. This time they were the abbots of the two most celebrated monasteries in Italy, that of St. Vincent on the Vulturno, and that of St. Benedict on Monte Cassino. The foundation of the latter monastery was described in a previous volume[2]. The monastery of St. Vincent had been founded about half a century before the accession of Stephen II by three kinsmen, young noblemen of Benevento, named Paldo, Taso and Tato, whose adventures when they set forth from their father's houses secretly in search of holiness and solitude are told with charming *naïveté* by the monastic author of the Chronicon Salernitanum. Their monastery was erected in the wild Abruzzi mountains near the source of the Vulturno, and already as a home of austere saints it had acquired a renown only second to that of the great house of St. Benedict[3].

'When these two abbots,' says the biographer, 'bore to the most cruel king the Pope's request that the treaty might be observed and the people of God of

[1] '*Cupiens* quippe—cunctam hunc provinciam invadere—onerosum tributum—adhibere *nitebatur*—singulos auri solidos annue, auferre *inhiabat*—sui jurisdictione civitatem hanc Romanam—subdere *indignanter asserebat.*'

[2] Vol. iv. p. 479 (425).

[3] The ruins of the convent may be seen near Castellone, about 15 miles N.W. of Isernia, high up on the central Apennine chain. The convent 'was suppressed and destroyed at the French invasion at the close of last century, when its collections were transferred to Monte Cassino' (Murray's Guide to South Italy, p. 213, ed. 1892).

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both parties might be allowed to dwell in peace, he treated them with absolute contempt, spurning all their admonitions, and to the ruin of his own soul sent them back abashed and disappointed to their own monasteries, bidding them take notice that he would not bend in the least to the will of the aforesaid most holy Pope. Which when that eminent Father heard, he at once, according to his usual practice, commended to Almighty God his cause and the cause of the people committed to his care, suggesting his dolorous lamentation to the Divine Majesty[1].'

Embassy from the Emperor Constantine V.

At this point, however, there appeared upon the scene the representative of one whom raging Lombard and weeping Pope were both in danger of forgetting, the *de jure* lord of Ravenna and all Italy, the Emperor Constantine V. 'While these things were being done there arrived at Rome John, imperial *silentiarius*[2], bringing a message to the most holy Pope, and at the same time a letter of command to the aforesaid impious king that he should restore to their proper lord those territories of the Republic which he had usurped with devilish ingenuity. This imperial messenger the Pope sent, along with his brother the deacon Paul, to the most wicked Aistulf at Ravenna. When they had been received he dismissed them with an empty answer, assuring the Emperor's messenger that he would order some nefarious man of his own nation, steeped in the counsels of the devil, to hasten

[1] 'Hanc lugubrem ejus divinae majestati insinuavit lamentationem.' Perhaps a paragraph has been omitted here, containing the words of Pope Stephen's prayer.

[2] Captain of the life-guards.

to the Royal City[1]. They therefore returned to Rome, were presented to the Pope, and reported to him the ill success of their mission. Then the most holy man, perceiving the intention of the malignant king, sent his own emissaries and apostolic rescripts to the Royal City, along with the Emperor's messenger, earnestly entreating the imperial clemency that (as he had often prayed him before) he would by all means come into these regions of Italy and set free the city of Rome and the whole province of Italy from the bitings of this son of iniquity.'

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752. Embassy of Stephen II to the Emperor.

This passage is important as showing that now in the year 752, twenty-six years after Leo III issued his iconoclastic decrees, the Pope still considers himself an imperial subject, and has even yet no matured design of breaking with the Byzantine Emperor, if only that Emperor will play his part properly and will deliver him from the swords of the Lombards.

Lombard threats and Roman litanies, 753 (?).

The biographer continues: 'Meanwhile, the most atrocious king of the Lombards, persisting in his pernicious design, flamed into vehement fury, and roaring like a lion uttered his pestiferous threats against the Romans, vowing that they should all be butchered with one sword unless they would submit themselves to his dominion on the aforesaid terms. Then again the most holy father, having collected the whole Roman assembly, thus addressed them with paternal love: "I pray you, dearest sons, let us implore the pardon of God for our heaped-up transgressions, and He will be our helper, and in His merciful providence will deliver us from the hands of our persecutors." Then the people, obeying his healthful counsel,

[1] Constantinople.

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 752. assembled with one accord, and all with streams of tears besought the help of the Almighty. On one of these days he made procession, singing the Litany with much humility, and bearing on his own shoulder with the help of the other bishops the most holy likeness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ which is named "the made without hands[1]," at the same time exhibiting other sacred mysteries, and so with naked feet walked, followed by the whole commonalty, to the church of the Holy Mother of God which is called Ad Praesepe[2]. Ashes were sprinkled on the heads of all the people, and they walked along with mighty wailings, calling on the most merciful Lord God. But the Pope had tied to the adorable cross of our Lord that covenant which the wicked king of the Lombards had broken.'

The biographer then goes on to describe how the Pope ordained that these solemn processional litanies should be sung every sabbath day; the goal of the processions being by turns S. Maria Maggiore, St. Peter's, and St. Paul's. He also assembled all his bishops and

[1] Acheropsita = ἀχειροποίητα. This is apparently the first mention of the sacred picture known as the Achiropoieton, which was said to have been drawn in outline by St. Luke and to have had the colours filled in by angelic hands. It is kept in the Sancta Sanctorum chapel at the top of the Scala Santa, and the picture itself, or an ancient copy of it, is exhibited on certain days of festival to the multitude. 'Only the head, hands and feet are visible, the rest being covered with silver *laminae* adorned with reliefs of sacred subjects. The countenance is of the conventional ascetic type, by no means beautiful or pleasing, and almost blackened by time' (Hemans, Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art, p. 462).

[2] S. Maria Maggiore: so called from the Holy Cradle said to have been brought from Bethlehem at the time of the Saracen invasion of Palestine and deposited in this church.

clergy in the Lateran palace and exhorted them to be diligent in the study of the Scriptures and in other spiritual reading, that they might have a ready answer for the adversaries of the Church of God. Nor was conduct forgotten. 'With ceaseless and strengthening admonitions he warned the people of God to live soberly and piously and to keep themselves from all wickedness.'

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Cry for help to Pippin.

But while thus sharpening afresh all the weapons of his spiritual warfare, Stephen was preparing that appeal to the great power beyond the Alps for which both the Gregories[1] and Zacharias had opened the way. By a returning pilgrim, whose name has not reached us, he sent a letter to the newly-crowned Pippin, begging him to despatch messengers bringing an invitation or a summons to the Frankish court[2]. The king took the hint, and (probably in the spring of 753) Droctigang, abbot of Jumièges[3], appeared at the Lateran with a request for the Pope's presence in Frank-land[4]. Another Frankish courtier arrived soon after to repeat the same invitation.

Papal letters to Pippin and his nobles.

At this point of the negotiations we find two important letters from the Pope in that great collection the *Codex Carolinus*, which will henceforward be

[1] So says the biographer. We have in the fragmentary annals of the time no record of direct correspondence of Gregory II with the Frankish Mayors, but it is possible that there may have been some communication of which we are not informed.

[2] This letter is not extant.

[3] Droctigang appears in the Liber Pontificalis as *Trottigangus abbas.* Jumièges (Gemetiacum) is on the south bank of the Seine near its mouth.

[4] Francia of course at this time is a much wider term than the modern France, including Austrasia as well as Neustria and Burgundy. Frank-land seems to me the best translation.

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 753. one of our main authorities. They were written with the intent that they should be taken back to Frankland by the messengers whom Pippin had sent. In them the Pope expresses his high satisfaction with both of the envoys, and begs that one of them, 'Johannes vir religiosus' (who is perhaps the second unnamed messenger alluded to in the Liber Pontificalis), may accompany any future embassy that the king may send him. In the first letter, addressed to Pippin himself, Stephen assures him of the special protection of Peter, and exhorts him to persevere in the good course upon which he has entered. 'Because he that endureth to the end the same shall be saved. And for this thou shalt receive an hundred-fold in this life and shall inherit the life eternal.'

The other letter is addressed 'To the glorious men our sons, all the dukes of the Frankish nation [1].' The motive of this letter is revealed to us by some words of Einhard, the biographer of Charles the Great, in which he describes the intense dislike of many of the Frankish nobles to the proposal of a war with the Lombards [2]. There were probably many reasons for this dislike. The relations of the two peoples had been for many generations friendly; the trouble and hardships of a Transalpine campaign were more obvious than the profit likely to result from it to any one but the Pope; even the great ecclesiastics, still but half reconciled to the strict discipline which Zacharias and Boniface had imposed upon them, may

[1] 'Stephanus episcopus servus servorum Dei viris gloriosis nostrisque filiis, omnibus ducibus gentis Francorum' (Codex Carolinus, Ep. 5, ed. Jaffé). Probably the word 'ducibus' should be taken in the widest sense—leaders or nobles.

[2] Einhardi Vita Karoli, vi.

have given but cold assent to the proposal to make their papal master yet more masterful. BK. VIII. CH. 8.

To the Frankish nobles accordingly Stephen addressed himself, nominally asking for their advocacy of his cause with the king, really no doubt seeking to smooth away their opposition. 'We are confident that you fear God and love your protector the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, since you may be certain that for every struggle which you undertake on behalf of your spiritual mother the Church, you shall receive an hundred-fold from the hand of God, and from the Prince of the Apostles himself the forgiveness of your sins. Therefore let nothing hinder you from aiding our petition to our son the God-preserved and most excellent Pippin, that so your sins may be blotted out, and the Key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven may open to you the door and introduce you into eternal life.' 753.

Aistulf occupies Ceccano.

The Frankish messengers probably returned from Rome with these letters about the beginning of July. Before the answer could be sent, Aistulf had taken a step further towards the attainment of his end by occupying Ceccano, a village on the Via Latina, south-east of Rome, and just inside the frontier of the *Ducatus Romae*. The learned and impartial editor of the Liber Pontificalis, Abbé Duchesne, aptly calls our attention to the fact that this occupation of Ceccano 'is the first act of hostility on the part of the Lombards. Till now the biographer has said a good deal about persecutions, menaces, broken treaties, citations, but he has not related any act of war[1].' However, it was undoubtedly a menacing

[1] Lib. Pont. i. 457.

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 753. deed. The old northward road by Perugia to the Exarchate, the *Via Flaminia*, was already of course closed, and now some stages on the southward road were to be occupied by the Lombards; the *Ducatus Romae* was to be more effectually barred from all possible communication with the imperial governor at Naples; the Pope might expect before long to see the Lombard standards on the south-eastern horizon moving towards the Lateran itself. Add to this the fact that Ceccano was cultivated by *coloni* of the Roman Church, and was therefore probably one of the 'patrimonies' of St. Peter, and we have reason enough for the Pope's resentment being fiercely kindled by such an invasion, though it was not, as far as we know, accompanied by bloodshed or any especial deed of violence.

Second embassy from the Emperor.

However, the Lombard king does not appear at this time to have pushed his inroad further into the *Ducatus Romae*. The next event was the return of the imperial *silentiarius* John, accompanied by the papal messengers from Constantinople. Still the Byzantine Emperor clung with extraordinary tenacity to his belief in embassies as a means of inducing the hot-tempered Lombard to disgorge his conquests; and with equally strange ignorance of the schemes which were being revolved in the papal breast, he chose the Pope as the most fitting advocate of the desired restitution. Assuredly, one thinks, Constantine V cannot have read the alleged Donation of his great namesake. However, the Pope was still the Emperor's subject: he must go to the Lombard Court and demand restitution to the empire of Ravenna and the cities pertaining thereto: but as a preliminary he sent a

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messenger to Aistulf requesting a safe-conduct for himself and all his companions.

753. Frankish envoys Autchar and Chrodegang in Rome.

The return of that messenger with the safe-conduct coincided most fortunately with the long-desired arrival in Rome of the Frankish envoys who were to act as escort to the Pope. They were two of the most eminent men in the Frankish kingdom, 'the most glorious duke'[1] Autchar, and—a yet more important personage—Chrodegang, bishop of Metz. This last-named ecclesiastic was sprung from a noble family in Brabant, and is even said, by one doubtful authority, to have been a cousin of the king. He was now a middle-aged man; he had been for many years *referendarius*[2] (practically equivalent to chancellor) to the Frankish sovereign, and for the last eleven years (since 742) he had been bishop of Metz, the capital of the Austrasian kingdom. Liberal, learned (according to the estimation of the age), and fervent in piety, he was after Boniface the most noteworthy churchman of his generation. Like Boniface, he was intent upon the greatly needed work of reforming the morals of the Gaulish clergy, and with this end in view he drew up, probably soon after his return from his mission to Rome, a Rule for the collegiate life of the clergy of his cathedral church. To Chrodegang more than to any other person may be attributed the institution of secular canons, the

[1] 'Aucharius gloriosissimus dux' (Cod. Car. 19). We do not seem to be told of what district he was duke.

[2] For the office of *referendarius* under Theodoric and Justinian, see vol. iii. 543 (489) and iv. 677 (599), also my 'Letters of Cassiodorus,' p. 311. But he had now apparently become a more important officer, and was trusted with the custody of the royal seal. See Waitz, Verfassungs-Geschichte, iii. 511–512.

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 753. foundation of cathedral chapters, and not a few of the disciplinary rules which still survive in our English colleges[1]. Chrodegang's main purpose was to introduce into the lives of the officiating clergy something of the same regularity and strictness which the wise moderation of the rule of Benedict had given to the lives of the monks. But several expressions in his Rule show that he was also impressed by the splendour and dignity of the ceremonial in the churches at Rome, and in ritual, and especially in music, he was a zealous advocate of the usages which he had observed during his Roman embassy[2].

The Pope sets out for Pavia, Oct. 13, 753. On the 13th of October, 753, Pope Stephen II rode out of the Flaminian Gate on his fateful northward journey. Many of his own immediate flock, many too of the inhabitants of other cities, followed him for some miles along the road, beseeching him with tears to renounce his perilous enterprise. Doubtless the true goal of his journeyings was already an open secret in Rome. It was not merely the Roman bishop who as a dutiful subject of the empire was going to the palace at Pavia to plead the cause of Constantine Copronymus and to obtain the restitution of the Exarchate. It was the Patriarch of Western Christendom who, though in delicate health, was going to cross the Alps, to appear in Gaul, the first

[1] For instance, the instructions given to a college porter as to the closing of the gates after a certain hour of night might almost be taken from the Rule of Chrodegang (c. 4).

[2] This point is well brought out by Oelsner, who has an excellent chapter on 'Die Congregation der Canoniker zu Metz' (Jahrbücher, 205–218). There is also a good article on Chrodegang in Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography.

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of the long line of Popes to tread the soil of that country, to invoke in person the help of the newly-anointed king of the Franks, and bring that powerful piece upon the board to cry 'check' to the Lombard king. Notwithstanding the lamentations of the people, Stephen II held on his way, accompanied by a number of bishops and priests and by some of the chief officers in the little army of the *Ducatus Romae*. At the fortieth milestone, after night had closed in, just as they were entering the Lombard territory [1], they saw a great sign in heaven—even a globe of fire falling towards the south from the region of Gaul and of the Lombards; evidently a token of great changes coming from the northern lands upon Italy.

Threatening message from Aistulf.

The Frankish duke Autchar went forward and heralded at the Lombard Court the approach of the venerable ambassador. No sooner, however, had the Pope set foot in the city of Pavia than he was met by a messenger from Aistulf—whom we are inclined to call, not as the biographer does, 'most wicked,' but 'most foolish'—ordering him on no account to say one word by way of petition on behalf of Ravenna, the Exarchate, or any of the cities which recent Lombard kings had wrested from the empire. The Pope returned the sensible and manly answer that no such attempts at intimidation would avail to silence his remonstrances on behalf of those cities.

'When the Pope had arrived at Pavia [2] and was presented to the wicked king he offered him many

[1] Probably just before reaching Forum Cassii (now Vetralla) on the Via Cassia. Its distance from Rome, according to the Itinerarium Antonini, is forty-four Roman miles.

[2] 'Conjungente vero eo Papiam.' Throughout this Life, as in most documents of this period, the word 'conjungo' is used in the modern

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753. Interview with Aistulf.

gifts, and besought him with copious tears that he would restore the Lord's sheep which he had taken away and would give back to every one his own'—a gentle hint as to the duty of recognising the imperial claim. Then the imperial envoys unfolded their commission, and doubtless with true Byzantine pomp of words pressed for the same surrender. All was in vain: nor does the recital of the biographer convey the impression that the Pope himself expected or desired it to be otherwise. But then began the real battle of the day. The Frankish envoys, Chrodegang and Autchar, 'pressed heavily on Aistulf with the demand that he should relax his rules and allow the most holy Pope to travel to Frank-land[1]. At which he called the blessed man before him and asked him if he had any desire to hasten into Frank-land; whereupon the Pope by no means held his peace, but showed plainly his inclination to make the journey. Thereat Aistulf gnashed his teeth like a lion, and several times sent his creatures to him privately to try and divert him from his purpose. But when next day in the presence of Chrodegang the king again asked him if he wished to travel into Frank-land, the Pope answered, "If your will is to give me leave, mine is altogether to make the journey."'

Stephen sets forth on his journey

The Pope had played a bold but skilful game. The request for his presence, coming from so powerful a neighbour as the king of the Franks, urged by his

Italian sense of 'to arrive.' 'Quando giugniamo a Roma?' = 'When do we arrive at Rome?'

[1] 'Praedicti vero Francorum missi imminebant fortiter apud eundem Aistulfum ut praefatum sanctissimum Papam Franciam pergere relaxaret.'

own ambassadors and heartily seconded by the Pope himself, was one which Aistulf durst not refuse; and so the important journey was commenced. On the 15th of November Stephen set forth from Pavia accompanied by two bishops [1], four presbyters, an archdeacon [2], two deacons—Ambrose the *primicerius* and Boniface the *secundicerius* of the papal curia—two *regionarii* [3], and other attendants. They made the first stages of the journey as rapidly as possible, fearing (as proved to be the case) that Aistulf would repent of his granted leave and seek to hinder them on their way. They arrived, however, ere any messenger could stop them at the Italian end of the pass of the Great St. Bernard, no doubt the Val d'Aosta, which owing to the early and unsuccessful Lombard invasions of Gaul had remained for a hundred and eighty years in Frankish hands and was now called one of the Frankish passes [4]. Arrived there, the Pope and his companions sang a psalm of praise to God who had so far prospered their journey. But to the dangers from men succeeded the dangers of Nature, the perils and the toils necessarily in that day accompanying the passage of a ridge more than 8,000 feet high in the month of November. That which is now the pass of the Great St. Bernard, but was then the Mons Jovis, rose before them, doubtless thickly covered with snow, and not crowned with that hospitable dwelling

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753. across the Alps, Nov. 15, 753.

The passage of the Alps.

[1] George of Ostia and Wilchar of Nomentum (Mentana).

[2] Theophylact. We hear of him again at the next vacancy of the popedom.

[3] Relieving officers: see vol. v. p. 287. They probably came to attend to the commissariat of the party.

[4] 'Deo praevio ad Francorum conjunxit clusas.' See vol. v. p. 223 for the events which made Aosta and Susa Frankish.

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 753. which for more than a thousand years has offered shelter to pilgrims, but perhaps still showing the dismantled and shelterless ruins of the temple of Jupiter. The biographer, who evidently was not one of the party, tells us nothing of the hardships of the ascent and descent, but they left their indelible impression on the mind of the chief pilgrim. Two years later, writing to Pippin, Stephen says, 'By St. Peter's orders my Unhappiness was directed to come to you. We surrendered ourselves body and soul to the mighty labours attending a journey into so vast and distant a province. Trusting utterly to your fidelity, by God's will we arrived in your presence, worn out by the frost and the snow, by the heat and the swelling of waters, by mighty rivers, and most atrocious mountains and divers kinds of danger [1].'

However, all these perils overpassed, the Roman ecclesiastics descended safely into the valley of the Rhone, and rested from their labours in the renowned monastery of St. Maurice at Agaunum, the scene of Burgundian Sigismund's devotion and despair [2]. This religious house was under the government of the abbot Wilichar, formerly Archbishop of Vienne, who on the surrender of his see had gone on pilgrimage to Rome and there made the acquaintance of Pope Stephen [3]. They were here therefore in the presence of old friends, and doubtless greatly enjoyed the calm and the shelter of the renowned convent. During the Pope's sojourn at St. Maurice, which probably

[1] Stephen II to Pippin: Ep. 7 in Codex Carolinus.

[2] See vol. iii. p. 410 (p. 370, 2nd ed.).

[3] Adonis Chronicon: Pertz, Monumenta, ii. 319. I owe this quotation to Oelsner.

lasted several weeks, Ambrose the *primicerius* sickened with fever and died. He was sixty years of age, and had probably never recovered from the fatigues of the mountain journey. Six years later his body was carried back across the Alps and buried in St. Peter's basilica [1].

The Pope had hoped to find the Frankish king waiting for him at St. Maurice, but the necessity of repelling a Saxon inroad had apparently deranged the royal plans [2]. However, Pippin's confidential adviser, Fulrad, abbot of S. Denis, soon appeared at the convent, together with a duke named Roland, charged with a renewal of the invitation and with the duty of escorting the ecclesiastics to the palace.

King Pippin, who had been keeping his Christmas at the Villa Theudonis on the Moselle [3], received we are told with immense joy the tidings of the Pope's arrival in his kingdom, and journeyed, with his wife, his sons, and his nobles, to another 'villa publica,' or royal demesne, that of Pons Hugonis, to meet him. This place, from which apparently all traces of a royal palace have now vanished, is the little village of Ponthion in Champagne, not far from those Catalaunian plains on which Attila and Aetius fought their mighty battle [4]. Looking at the map, we are

[1] Duchesne (i. 458) copies his interesting epitaph.

[2] Fredegarius' Continuer (35) mentions the Saxon war of 753. It was on his return from thence that Pippin heard of the death of his half-brother Grifo.

[3] This is the place which the Neustrians now call Thionville and the Austrasians Diedenhofen.

[4] The full description of Ponthion seems to be Canton Thiéblemont, Arrondissement Vitry-le-François, Département du Marne. It is too insignificant to be marked on our ordinary maps,

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somewhat surprised to find the place of meeting between the Pope, coming from Switzerland, and the king who had kept Christmas on the Moselle, fixed so far to the west, but evidently both potentates had in their mind an approaching solemnity in the neighbourhood of Paris, and shaped the course of their journeys accordingly.

First appearance of Charles the Great.

From Ponthion[1] Pippin sent his son Charles a hundred miles forward on the road to meet the pontiff. A meeting full of interest for after generations; for this Charles, a lad of fourteen years, is none other than the future Charlemagne, and this Pope Stephen is the first of a long line of pontiffs who were to crown kings while themselves exercising something like kingly rule.

Meeting of Stephen and Pippin.

When news came that the Pope was approaching Pons Hugonis, the king rode forth to meet him at the third milestone from the palace, and dismounting from his horse prostrated himself before his papal guest, and then walked like a groom beside his palfrey[2].

but its neighbour Blesme may be found, between Vitry and Bar-le-duc.

[1] I think this is how we must understand the papal biographer. A hundred miles from Thionville would scarcely do more than bring him to Ponthion.

[2] 'Cui et vice stratoris usque in aliquantum locum juxta ejus sellarem properavit' (Lib. Pont. in vitâ Steph. II, p. 447, ed. Duchesne). This 'vice stratoris,' the self-humiliation of a king to act the part of a groom, is a point much insisted upon by the papal scribes. The reader may remember that the same words are used in the Donation of Constantine (see p. 149), the first Christian Emperor being there represented as glorying in the fact that he had performed 'stratoris officium' for Silvester. Whether that passage in the Donation suggested to Pippin the assumption of a groom's office or *vice versâ* is a question much discussed, but on which, on mere *a priori* grounds, it seems to me impossible to arrive at certainty.

Forty-two years before, a predecessor of Stephen had entered in like triumphal guise the city of Constantinople; but only the Emperor's representatives, not the Emperor himself, then graced his triumph. This may therefore be considered the first of those exhibitions of ostentatious humility on the part of the Crown towards the pontifical Tiara which were to be so numerous throughout the Middle Ages. Thus in solemn procession, with the usual ecclesiastical accompaniment of loudly chanted hymns and spiritual songs, Pope and King moved onward to the gates of the palace of Ponthion.

Pippin's promise at Ponthion.

The day of this fateful meeting was the sixth of January, 754, the feast of the Epiphany. The Christmas festivities at Thionville had probably therefore been summarily cut short by the tidings of the Pope's approach. When host and guest had entered the palace they proceeded to the royal chapel, and there, girded with sackcloth and with ashes on his head, the Pope fell prostrate before the King[1], and with the ever-ready accompaniment of tears besought him—to do what? Every word here is important, and the biographer shall therefore tell us the story himself. 'The blessed Pope with tears besought the most Christian King that by treaties of peace he would arrange the cause of St. Peter and the republic of the Romans. Who by an oath *de praesenti* assured the most blessed Pope that he would with his utmost energy obey all his commands and admonitions, and as soon as he should have convened a diet(?) by

[1] These details as to the self-abasement of the Pope, absent from the Liber Pontificalis, are given us by the author of the Chronicon Moissiacense.

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all means to restore to him the Exarchate of Ravenna and the rights and territories of the [Roman] republic[1].'

The Pope at S. Denis.

Winter was now making felt its full severity, and accordingly the King commended the Pope and his train of followers to the comfortable shelter of the abbey of S. Denis presided over by their friend Abbot Fulrad. There after the lapse of some time[2] Pippin also appeared, and there the solemn ceremony of his second coronation was performed by the head of Western Christendom. In that ceremony queen Bertrada,

Pippin, his wife, and sons crowned by Stephen.

[1] 'Ibidem beatissimus papa praefatum Christianissimum regem lacrimabiliter deprecatus est ut per pacis foedera causam beati Petri et reipublicae Romanorum disponeret. Qui de praesenti jurejurando eundem beatissimum papam satisfecit omnibus ejus mandatis et ammonitionibus sese totis nisibus obedire, et ut illi placitum fuerit Exarchatum Ravennae et reipublicae jura seu loca reddere modis omnibus.'

There are two or three points in these sentences which call for especial notice.

1. What is the meaning of 'per pacis foedera'? Does it mean 'by peaceful negociation with Aistulf' or 'by a treaty of alliance between Pippin and the Pope'? I incline to think the former, but I do not feel sure of it.

2. What is the meaning of 'de praesenti jurejurando'? Of course some contrast is implied with 'de futuro,' but how does that contrast come in?

3. What can be the meaning of 'ut illi placitum fuerit'? In the grammar of the Liber Pontificalis *ut* with the subjunctive may be *as* quite as probably as *that*. Dare we translate as I have done above, 'when he should have called a *placitum*' of the Franks, that being necessary to enable him to make such a donation? This translation if possible would throw a little light on the words 'de praesenti.' The first part of the assurance is by *verba de praesenti*, the second by *verba de futuro*. But possibly it is only a clumsy way of saying, 'and that he had made up his mind to restore the Exarchate,' and so on.

[2] The generally accepted date for this event is July 28, 754: but see Note at the end of this chapter.

dressed in magnificent royal robes[1], and her two sons Charles and Carloman, the latter a little child of three years old, bore their part, and were all crowned together with the chief of their house. An important part of the ceremony was the anathema pronounced by the papal lips on any who should in after-ages presume to treat the race of Pippin as Pippin himself had treated the race of Clovis. 'At the same time,' says an unknown but well-informed writer, 'the Pope confirmed the chiefs of the Franks with his blessing and the grace of the Holy Spirit, and bound them all by such an interdict and threatened penalty of excommunication that they should never, for all time to come, presume to elect a king sprung from the loins of any other but of these persons whom the Divine Mercy had deigned to exalt, and in accordance with the intercessions of the holy Apostles to confirm and consecrate by the hands of their vicar the most blessed Pope[2].'

Vain was this attempt to establish a new doctrine of Divine Right on behalf of the posterity of Pippin.

[1] She was 'regalibus induta cycladibus,' says the Clausula. The *cyclas* was a magnificently embroidered robe of some thin material, close-fitting round the neck but sweeping the ground in a wide circle, whence its name.

[2] This anathema is mentioned by the author of a fragment known as the *Clausula*, believed to have been written at S. Denis in 767. It is published in Bouquet's Recueil des Historiens de France, v. 9 (copied by Waitz, Verfassungs-Geschichte, iii. 69, n. 2), and by Duchesne, Lib. Pont. i. 458. The account of the coronation in the Clausula is as follows:—'Postea per manus ejusdem Stephani pontificis die uno in beatorum praedictorum martirum Dionisii Rustici et Eleutherii ecclesiâ ubi et venerabilis vir Fulradus Archipresbyter et abbas esse cognoscitur, in regem et patricium una cum praedictis filiis Carolo et Carlomanno in nomine sanctae Trinitatis unctus et benedictus est.'

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In a century and a half Henry the Saxon in Germany, in a little more than two centuries Hugh Capet in France, were to push the last Arnulfings from their thrones. Did St. Louis or any of the later Bourbon or Habsburg rulers who in their turn claimed Divine Right and papal sanction for their demand on the inalienable allegiance of their subjects ever remember that, according to the words pronounced by Pope Stephen in the chapel of S. Denis, they and all their house were under excommunication and interdict for presuming to violate the divine, apostolic, papal decree which settled the crown of the Franks on Pippin and his seed for ever?

The title of Patrician conferred by Stephen on Pippin and his sons.

It is to be observed that, according to the document from which I have just quoted, Stephen anointed Pippin not only to be King, but also Patrician. This was of course in no sense a Frankish but a purely Roman dignity, and pointed to the closer connection which was henceforth to subsist between Pippin and the City of Rome. Referring to previous pages of this work for the history of the title of Patrician[1], I may remind the reader that it had been of late years generally borne by the Exarch, and thus denoted authority over that part of Italy which was still imperial, an authority delegated from Constantinople. But when Pope Zacharias in the year 743 set forth on his journey of intercession to Ravenna, he, as we are told, 'left the government of the City to Stephen Patrician[2] and Duke.' It would appear therefore that already ten years before the events which we are now considering, the Pope considered the *Dux Romae* as his subordinate, and that the *Dux Romae*

[1] ii. 344, 405, 540 (347, 401, 526), v. 216, n.

[2] vi. 496.

bore the title of Patrician. It was probably in some such sense as this, and with the intention of conferring upon the Frankish king both a dignity, the first among Roman laymen, and a duty, that of guarding the territory of Rome from hostile invasion, that the Pope hailed his powerful friend in the chapel of S. Denis as not only King but Patrician. The title was bestowed upon the royal children as well as on Pippin himself, and is from this time forward sedulously used by the Pope in writing to his protectors, though Pippin himself does not seem to care about its adoption[1]. From a strictly legal point of view probably no one but the Emperor at Constantinople had any right to confer the title, but neither Pope nor Frankish king seems to have troubled himself to enquire what were the strict legal rights of Constantine Copronymus.

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Sickness of the Pope.

At some time during this year 754 the Pope was seized with a serious illness, the result of the fatigues of the journey and of the rigour of a northern winter. His life was for a time despaired of, but he suddenly recovered, and was found by his attendants one morning convalescent when they had feared to find him dead[2].

Placitum held at Quierzy.

And now all eyes were directed to the great *placitum* which was to be held at the royal villa of Carisiacum[3] near to Soissons in the heart of the

[1] See Oelsner, 144; Baxmann, Politik der Päpste, i. 242; Hegel, i. 209. I do not enter into the question in what sense the title *Patricius* was applied to Charles Martel by Gregory II (in a letter of Dec. 4, 724).

[2] The Papal biographer places the sickness of the Pope after the coronation of Pippin, but it certainly seems more probable that it preceded it.

[3] Quierzy or Kiersy.

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Opposition of Frankish nobles to war with the Lombards.

old kingdom of the Salian Franks. As has been already said, we know that there was a certain unwillingness on the part of some of the great Frankish nobles to fight the Pope's battles with the Lombard beyond the Alps. The strength of this opposition appears from the following words of Charles's biographer Einhard: 'The war against the Lombards was with great difficulty undertaken by Charles's father on the earnest entreaty of Pope Stephen, because certain of the chief men of the Franks with whom he was wont to take counsel so stoutly resisted his will that they proclaimed with free voices that they would desert the king and return to their own homes[1]. Pippin, who was no Oriental despot, but the chosen leader of a free people, had to persuade and entice his subjects into granting the consent which was necessary for the fulfilment of his promises to the Pope. Stephen himself was apparently not present at this assembly. He was perhaps not yet fully recovered from his sickness, and he knew that he could trust his royal friend to plead his cause effectually. But when Pippin repaired to the place of meeting, where he was about to 'imbue the nobles with the admonitions of the

[1] It may be questioned whether this threat to return home was uttered at Carisiacum in August, 754, or at Brennacum in March, 755. I am even disposed to suggest (but this is a mere conjecture) that Pippin desired to commence the campaign soon after his coronation in July, 754, but was hindered from doing so by the opposition of his nobles at Carisiacum: that to please them he resumed the path of negotiation with Aistulf for the rest of the year, and then in March, 755, at the *Campus Martii* at Brennacum, pointing to the impossibility of getting any terms of accommodation from Aistulf, was able to persuade the recalcitrant nobles to follow his standard.

754. Reappearance of Carloman to dissuade from war.

Holy Father[1], he was met by a powerful, perhaps an unexpected opponent. His brother Carloman, whom he had last seen in the barbaric splendour of a Frankish chief, and who had then been his equal, nay his superior in power, now appeared before him, barefooted, with shaven head, in the coarse robe of a Benedictine monk, to plead humbly—for what? That he would give prompt and effectual aid to the menaced head of the Western Church? No: but that he would live in peace with Aistulf, and not move one of his soldiers into Italy. The Papal biographer shall tell the story of this marvellous intervention in his own words:—

'Meanwhile the most unspeakable Aistulf by his devilish persuasions so wrought upon Carloman the brother of the most pious king Pippin, that he drew him forth from the monastery of St. Benedict in which he had dwelt devoutly as a monk for a certain space of time, and directed his course to the province of Frank-land, in order to raise objections and oppose the cause of the redemption of the Holy Church of God and the Republic of the Romans. And when he had arrived there he strove with all his power and vehemence to subvert the cause of the Church, according to the directions which he had received from the aforesaid unspeakable tyrant Aistulf. But by the grace of God he availed not to move the most firm soul of his brother the most Christian king Pippin: on the contrary, that excellent king, when he perceived the craftiness of the most wicked Aistulf, renewed his declaration that he would fight for the cause of God's holy Church as he had before promised

[1] 'Ibique congregans cunctos proceres regiae suae potestatis et eos tanti patris sanctâ ammonitione imbuens.'

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 754. the most blessed Pontiff. Then Pope and King with one accord taking counsel together, and remembering the aforesaid Carloman's own promise to God that he would lead a monastic life, placed him in a monastery there in Frank-land, where after certain days at the call of God he migrated from the light of day.'

Carloman's reasons for this intervention.

This is all the information that we possess as to this startling reappearance of the princely monk on the political arena, save that the official annals[1] inform us that Carloman undertook this journey unwillingly, being bound by his vow to obey the orders of the abbot of Monte Cassino, who again was under constraint, laid upon him by the stern orders of the Lombard king. This explanation, though accepted by many writers, does not seem to me sufficient to account for the facts. The abbot of Monte Cassino had not in past times shown himself thus subservient to the will of Aistulf, and a man occupying a position so venerated throughout Italy could not have been thus easily coerced into a course of which his conscience disapproved. Nor does the Papal biographer's own account of the vehemence with which the impulsive Carloman fulfilled his mission correspond with the chronicler's statement of the reluctance with which it was undertaken. To conjecture the motives even of our best-known contemporaries is often an unprofitable task, but if I may conjecture the motives of Carloman I would suggest that he had now seen enough of the Papal Curia of Italy and of the Lombards to know that the best thing for the country of his adoption, and even for 'the Holy Church of God' for which he had made such vast sacrifices,

[1] Annales Laurissenses; Annales Einhardi.

would be the establishment of a *modus vivendi* between the Bishop of Rome and the Lombard king, and that he may even have had some prophetic vision of the long centuries of sorrow which the Pope's appeal for aid from beyond the Alps would bring upon Italy.

Carloman's death, 755.

The death of Carloman followed at no great interval his unsuccessful intervention in the cause of peace. It has never been suggested that this event was not due to natural causes, but among these, disappointment and chagrin at the discovery that he who could once have ordered peace or war with the certainty of obedience, must now plead and plead in vain for the cause of peace, may very probably have contributed to the fatal result. The continuer of the chronicle of 'Fredegarius' tells us that he remained at Vienne with his sister-in-law queen Bertrada, languished for many days, and died in peace in the year 755.

The Donation of Pippin (Donation of Quierzy).

The mission of Carloman having proved fruitless, and the nobles assembled at Carisiacum having sufficiently signified their concurrence in the royal policy, Pippin proceeded to his work of obtaining, by negotiation if possible, if not by the sword, a promise from the Lombard king to respect 'the rights of St. Peter.' In order to state clearly what those rights were, a document appears to have been drawn up, in which Pippin set forth the territories which if he were victorious he was prepared to guarantee to the Pope. This is the far-famed *Donation of Pippin*, a document certainly less mythical than the Donation of Constantine, but one which has been the cause of almost as loud and angry a controversy, chiefly because, the document itself having disappeared, its contents have to be

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supplied by conjecture; and in this conjectural reproduction scarce two of the guessers altogether agree.

Hadrian's reference to this donation (774).

Twenty years later, when Charles the Great visited Rome in the midst of his victorious compaign against the Lombards, the then Pope Hadrian, as we are told, 'constantly prayed and besought him, and with paternal affection admonished him to fulfil in all things that promise which his father the late king Pippin of blessed memory, and himself the most excellent Charles with his brother Carloman and all the chiefs [lit. judges] of the Franks, had made to St. Peter and his vicar Pope Stephen II of blessed memory, when he journeyed to Frank-land: his promise namely to bestow divers cities and territories of that province of Italy and confirm them to St. Peter and all his vicars for a perpetual possession. And when he [Charles] had caused that promise which was made in Frank-land in a place which is called Carisiacum to be read over to him, he and all his nobles approved of all the things which were there recorded[1].'

The authenticity of the passage here quoted has been itself gravely questioned, and great difficulties,

[1] Pontifex ... constanter eum deprecatus est atque ammonuit et paterno affectu adhortare studuit ut promissionem illam quam ejus sanctae memoriae genitor Pippinus quondam rex et ipse praecellentissimus Carulus cum suo germano Carulomanno atque omnibus judicibus Francorum fecerant beato Petro et ejus vicario sanctae memoriae domino Stephano juniori papae, quando Franciam perrexit, pro concedendis diversis civitatibus ac territoriis istius Italiae provinciae et contradendis beato Petro ejusque omnibus vicariis in perpetuum possidendis adimpleret in omnibus. Cumque ipsam promissionem quae Franciâ in loco qui vocatur Carisiaco facta est, sibi relegi fecisset, complacuerunt illi et ejus judicibus omnia quae ibidem erant adnexa' (Lib. Pont., Vita Hadriani, xli–xlii).

as we shall hereafter see, encompass the question of the donation by Charles (in 774) founded upon this alleged donation by his father twenty years earlier. But upon a review of the whole evidence it seems to me clear that a donation of some kind was made by Pippin to the Pope at Carisiacum in 754. We call it a donation, but it was in strictness not a donation, but a promise to distribute in a certain manner the spoils to be taken from the Lombard king.

What did Pippin himself understand by his 'Donation'?

And if we take into consideration the thoughts and desires of the Frankish king as far as these are disclosed to us by his words reported by the chroniclers, we may be able to make a probable conjecture as to the nature of the gift which he promised to make to the Pope in the event of victory. He was informed that the Lombard king—generally described to him as 'most wicked' and 'quite unspeakable'—had lately reft from 'the Roman Republic' certain territories between the Adriatic and the Apennines, that he was trying to subject the citizens of Rome to the payment of a poll-tax, and that in his marchings hither and thither through Italy he was trampling upon the Papal patrimonies and oppressing the *coloni* by whom they were cultivated. All this King Pippin has determined must come to an end. The *justitiae* or rightful claims of St. Peter must be vindicated; the patrimonies must be safe from molestation; the independence of the citizens of Rome must be maintained; the territories lately wrested from 'the Roman Republic' must be restored—not to the Byzantine Emperor, a personage about whom the Frankish king knew and cared but little, but to 'the Roman Republic,' that is to St. Peter, first bishop of Rome

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 754. and keeper of the doors of the kingdom of heaven, that is to St. Peter's vicar, Pope Stephen II, now sheltering under the Frankish wing in the abbey of S. Denis, to whom moreover he, Pippin, owed a debt of gratitude for the confirmation of him and his sons in the kingdom of the Franks.

Further than this it is not likely that the Pope's demands or the king's promises extended. The settlement of the Lombards in Italy was now near two centuries old, and might be considered as ancient history. The dukes of Spoleto and Benevento had not, as far as we know, assisted the designs of Aistulf, and had often of recent years been leagued with the Pope against the Lombard king. There was therefore no reason why they should be attacked in the impending Holy War. Restitution of the *status quo ante Aistulfum*, a return to the state of affairs which existed in Italy in the time of Liutprand, was the object which Pippin set before his eyes; only with this exception, that the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, the territories which had been torn from 'the Roman Republic' by Aistulf, were to be handed back, not to the lieutenant of Constantine Copronymus, but to Stephen II, bishop of Rome.

Geographical ignorance of the Frankish king.

It is probable enough that the 'Donation' may have been expressed in vague and large terms into which a later Pope might read more than was in the mind of either contracting party at the time of its first inception. In this connection it is important to remember—a fact of which the modern reader is too apt to lose sight—that the geographical information at the command of a statesman of the eighth century was enormously inferior to that which

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would be available for the humblest mechanic at the present day. Every man of moderate education now knows the configuration of Italy on the map, and can at once approximately estimate the probable effect of this or that cession of territory on the balance of power in the peninsula. If the Frankish king and his counsellors had access to any map either of Gaul or Italy, which may be gravely doubted, it would not be a better one than that which, under the name of the Tabula Peutingeriana, is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and which, however interesting to the historical student, so grotesquely distorts the shapes and alters the sizes of the countries composing the Roman Empire that any judgment formed on its evidence would be sure to be mistaken.

In fine, Pippin's interest in the affairs of Italy was only of a secondary kind. The scheme, which eventually ripened in his son's mind, of crushing the Lombard monarchy and annexing Italy to his dominions, never, we may safely say, suggested itself to this king of the Franks. All that he was concerned with was the consolidation of his dynasty and the salvation of his soul. To secure these ends he was willing to march into Italy, to defeat the Lombard king, and to assert the claims of St. Peter; but these ends accomplished, the sooner he returned to his own villa by the Marne or the Moselle the better. As we shall see, though he twice appeared and fought in Italy, he did not once visit Rome.

Pippin tries to negotiate with Aistulf.

At first Pippin tried the path of negotiation with the Lombard king. Three successive embassies[1]

[1] 'Bis et tertio juxta sepefati beatissimi pontificis ammonitionem eum deprecatus est' (Vita Stephani II, cap. xxxi).

BK. VIII. Ch. 8. 755 (?). crossed the Alps charged to obtain from Aistulf by the promise of large gifts a recognition of 'the claims of St. Peter.' All being in vain, Pippin summoned the Frankish host to meet him at the royal villa of Brennacum[1], on the 1st of March, 755[2]. The army moved southward; the 'wedges,' as we are told of the Frankish host, had accomplished nearly half their journey[3], when Pippin, at the instance of the Pope—sincerely anxious doubtless to prevent the effusion of Christian blood—sent yet one more embassy to Aistulf. It is probably to this embassy that the words of a slightly later chronicler refer, to whom we are indebted for something more definite than the sonorous platitudes of the Papal biographer:—

'Pippin therefore [being about to] cross the Alps[4], sending his ambassadors to Aistulf, demanded that he would not afflict the Holy Roman Church, whose defender he had become by the divine ordinance, but would render full justice for the property which he had wrested from it. But Aistulf, puffed up with pride, and even with foolish words heaping reproaches on the aforesaid pontiff, would not promise him anything except liberty to return through his dominions to his own proper place. The ambassadors, however, protested that on no other conditions would the lord

[1] Braisne-sur-Vesle, about fifteen miles east of Soissons.

[2] 'Cumque praedictus rex Pippinus quod per legatos suos petierat non impetrasset, et Aistulfus hoc facere contempsit, evoluto anno, praefatus rex ad Kal. Martias omnes Francos, sicut mos Francorum est, Bernaco villâ publicâ ad se venire praecepit' (Fred. Cont. 120). My reasons for the above date will be found in the Note at the end of the chapter.

[3] 'Et dum jam fere medium itineris spatium Francorum exercituum graderentur cunei' (Vita Stephani II, cap. xxxii).

[4] 'Alpes transiens.'

Pippin depart from the borders of Lombardy unless first Aistulf would do justice to St. Peter. "What is that justice of which you speak?" asked Aistulf, to which the ambassadors made answer, "That you should restore to him Pentapolis, Narni, and Ceccano[1], and all the places where the Roman people complain of your injustice. And Pippin sends you this message, that if you are willing to render justice to St. Peter he will give you 12,000 solidi" (£7,200). But Aistulf, spurning all these offers, dismissed the ambassadors without any words of peace[2].'

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The army marches.

On learning the rejection of the proposals for peace the Frankish host, which had marched by way of Lyons, Vienne and Grenoble[3], ascended successively the valleys of the Isère and Arc, and reached S. Jean de Maurienne, whence they would behold the snowy peaks of the mountains round Mont Cenis rising before them. Here the main body of the host seems to have halted, collecting its strength for the tremendous enterprise of crossing the Mont Cenis in the face of the opposition of a watchful foe[4]. Suddenly and unexpectedly came

[1] It will be observed that no mention is made of Ravenna in Pippin's demand. This omission is difficult to understand.

[2] Chronicon Moissiacense (Pertz, Monumenta, i. 293).

[3] Lyons, Vienne and Maurienne are mentioned by the Continuer of 'Fredegarius.' The rest of the route may be inferred from these points.

[4] An interpolation in the Liber Pontificalis of very early date, and probably trustworthy, states that many masses were celebrated by the Pope at Maurienne in the church of John the Baptist (probably accompanied with prayer for the success of the expedition), and that Pippin at the same time consecrated to the service of God the money and the presents with which he had vainly attempted to soften the heart of the Lombard (Vita Stephani II, cap. xxxiv. p. 450, apud Duchesne).

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the tidings that no such enterprise lay before them, that the peril, though not the labour, of the passage of the Alps was vanished. The Lombard king had collected his army and pitched his camp in the valley of Susa, 'with the weapons and engines of war,' says the chronicler, 'and the manifold apparatus which he had wickedly collected against the Republic and the Apostolic See of Rome, wherewith he now strove to defend his nefarious designs[1].' As the reader has been already reminded, the valley of Susa as well as that of Aosta had been included in the Burgundian-Frankish dominions ever since the early and unsuccessful inroads of the Lombards into Frankish territory[2]. This fact and the consequent necessity of violating Frankish territory before he could even occupy Susa may explain the backward state of Aistulf's preparations for defence. Assuredly, however, he should not have contented himself with merely pitching his camp at the mouth of the pass, but should have occupied some of the heights, so as to harass the march of the invading army. The result of this improvidence was too plainly seen. A small body of Frankish soldiers, sent probably with no other object than that of effecting a reconnaissance, were seen emerging from the pass. Aistulf moved at early morning with the whole Lombard army against them, but the Franks, confiding in the help of God and St. Peter, possibly also still enjoying the advantage of the higher ground and fighting with great valour, inflicted serious loss on the Lombard

Aistulf defeated by the advance guard of the Franks.

[1] 'Cum telis et machinis et multo apparatu, quod nequiter contra rempublicam et sedem Romanam apostolicam admiserat' (Fred. Contin. 37).

[2] Vol. v. 223.

host. The proportion of deaths among the Lombard officers was especially severe, a feature of mountaineering warfare which is often observed at the present day. Almost all the dukes and counts and other nobles were slain in this engagement, and Aistulf himself narrowly escaped death by the fall of a rock [1]. Casting away his armour he fled with the remnant of his host down the valley to Pavia, and shut himself up in that city. Rapidly did Pippin and his men now accomplish the dreaded passage of the Alps. They were in time to capture the deserted camp, to plunder it of its treasures of gold and silver and all the abandoned ornaments of regal magnificence, and to make its tents their own. Pippin then sat down with his army before the city of Pavia, laying waste with fire all the surrounding country, and carrying havoc far down the fertile valley of the Po [2].

Pavia invested.

Aistulf agrees to Pippin's terms.

Aistulf soon perceived that he was unable to cope with the might of the king of the Franks, and through the nobles and clergy in the besieging army began to make overtures for peace. They appear to have been seconded by him whom the biographer calls 'the most blessed and as it were angelic pope,' who was in the camp of the invaders [3], and who desired to

[1] 'Pene omnem exercitum suum quod (*sic*) secum adduxerat, tam ducibus comitibus vel omnes majores natu gentis Langobardorum in eo praelio omnes amisit, et ipse quodam monte rupis vix lapsus evasit' (Fredegarii Continuatio, 31). To this chronicler we owe the fullest account of the battle, but the Papal biographer gives us a few further details.

[2] This is probably the fact represented by the large words of the chronicler, 'omnia quae in giro fuit vastans partibus Italiae maxime igne concremavit, totam regionem illam vastavit.'

[3] 'Tunc jamfatus beatissimus et coangelicus papa Pippinum

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 755 (?). stay the ravages of war and the further effusion of Christian blood. A treaty of peace was drawn up between the Romans, the Franks and the Lombards, in which Aistulf with all his nobles bound himself by a mighty and terrible oath to immediately restore Ravenna and divers other cities to the Roman Republic[1]. Hostages were given to ensure the observance of the treaty and of Aistulf's promise that he would entertain no further hostile designs against the republic or the see of Rome; and the costly presents wherewith he had obtained their advocacy of his cause were handed over to the Frankish nobles[2]. After these matters had been settled Stephen returned to Rome with the dignified ecclesiastics who formed his train, enriched with large presents by the generous Frankish king, and Pippin returned to his own land, carrying with him apparently no small part of the great Lombard hoard.

Aistulf's submission not sincere.

He had not, however, really settled the dispute by his intervention. Unfortunately, as already hinted, Aistulf seems to have been one of those irritating personages, like our Ethelred the Unready, who can make neither war nor peace, neither fight a good stand-up fight successfully, nor accept the conse-

saepefatum deprecatus est Christianissimum regem ut jam amplius malum non proveniret' (Vita Stephani II, cap. xxxvi).

[1] 'In scripto foederae pactum adfirmantes inter Romanos Francos et Langobardos . . . Spoponedit ipse Aistulfus cum universis suis judicibus sub terribili et fortissimo sacramento, atque in eodem pacti foedere per scriptam paginam adfirmavit se ilico redditurum civitatem Ravennantium cum diversis civitatibus' (Ibid.). 'Restore' to whom? The mention of 'Romanos' as a party to the treaty entitles us to say 'to the Roman Republic.'

[2] This from Fredegarii Continuatio, 37.

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Bitter complaints of the Pope to Pippin.

quences of defeat when beaten. Pippin had probably not long returned to his northern home when he received a letter[1] in which Pope Stephen bitterly complained of the many tribulations inflicted upon him by the unjust king of the Lombards. 'That old enemy of the human race, the Devil, has invaded his perfidious heart, and he seems to make of no account the promises which he gave under the sanction of an oath, nor has he consented to restore one hand's breadth of land to the blessed Peter and the holy Church of God, the Republic of the Romans[2]. In truth ever since that day when we [you and I] parted from one another he has striven to put upon us such afflictions, and on the Holy Church of God such insults, as the tongue of man cannot declare: nay, rather the stones themselves, if one may say so, would with mighty howlings weep for our tribulation. . . . I especially grieve, my most excellent sons' (the young kings, Charles and Carloman, are addressed along with their father), 'that you would not hear the words uttered by our Unhappiness, and chose to listen to lies rather than to the truth, deceiving your own souls and making yourselves a laughing-stock. Wherefore without any effectual redress of the wrongs of

[1] Codex Carolinus, Ep. 6 (Jaffé). There is no date to this letter, but it was probably written in the autumn of 755. This letter was entrusted to Fulrad, abbot of S. Denis, returning from Rome whither he had accompanied the Pope. Another letter written at the same time, similar in tenour but somewhat expanded, was sent by Wilchar, bishop of Nomentum (Mentana), who had accompanied Stephen to the Frankish Court.

[2] 'Nec unius enim palmi terrae spatium beato Petro sanctaeque Dei ecclesiae reipublicae Romanorum reddere passus est.' It is worthy of note that there is no *et* between 'ecclesiae' and 'reipublicae.' The two are apparently treated as one.

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St. Peter[1] we had to return to our own fold and to the people committed to our charge.'

This is the theme to which Stephen II returns in this and many following letters. 'You have made peace too easily: you have taken no sufficient security for the fulfilment of the promises which you made to St. Peter, and which you yourselves guaranteed by writing under your hands and seals[2].' Remembering the eagerness for a peaceable settlement without further effusion of Christian blood, which his biographer attributes to the Pope, we are somewhat surprised to find him adopting this tone of remonstrance. It is of course possible that Stephen may have advised the Frankish king to insist on some surer guarantee than oaths and hostages for the fulfilment of Aistulf's promises; but on the other hand it may be suggested that the Churchman, unused to the sights and sounds of war and anxious for peace, urged on his royal friend terms of accommodation which he himself when he had returned to Rome found to be quite insufficient for his purpose.

'Better is it not to have vowed at all,' urges the Pope, 'than to vow and fail to perform the vow. The promised donation written by your own hand is firmly held by the Prince of the Apostles himself. Consider what a stalwart exacter of his dues is the blessed Peter, who through my intervention has anointed you and your sons to be kings; and fear lest when the just Judge appears to judge the quick and the dead and to consume the world by fire, that

[1] 'Sine effectu justitiae beati Petri.'

[2] 'Per donationis paginam,' 'per donationem vestram manu firmatam.'

same Prince of the Apostles shall prove that your written promise failed to bind you. A severe account will you then have to settle with him. All the nations round believed that you who had received from Providence this shining gift, granted to none of your ancestors, of protecting the rights of the Prince of the Apostles, were going to obtain justice for him by your most mighty arm. But in this you seem to be failing, and great stupefaction has seized all hearts by reason thereof. "Faith without works is dead": therefore listen to our cry, and speedily and without delay obtain the restitution to St. Peter of all the cities and towns contained in your donation, as well as of the hostages and captives who are still detained[1].'

Aistulf besieges Rome, Jan. 1, 756.

These piteous cries for help do not seem to have been immediately answered. It was probably too late in the year for the Frankish king to think of undertaking another Transalpine expedition. But meanwhile Aistulf, with incredible folly as it seems to us, as well as with scandalous disregard of his plighted word, took the field, and endeavoured to capture Rome in the winter months of the year 756, before Pippin could come to its rescue. On the 1st of January an army under the command of the Duke of Tuscany[2] came down, like Porsena's Etruscans of old, clustering round the Janiculan Mount and blocked up the three

[1] 'Velociter et sine ullo impedimento, quod beato Petro promisistis per donationem vestram, civitates et loca atque omnes obsides et captivos beato Petro reddite, vel omnia quae ipsa donatio continet' (Cod Car., Ep. 7). I do not think we have any explanation of the allusion to hostages given by Rome to the Lombard.

[2] Probably. The Pope says, 'cunctus Langobardorum exercitus Tusciae partibus' (Ibid., Ep. 8).

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gates of the City, on the right bank of the Tiber—Portuensis, S. Pancratii, and S. Petri[1]. The Lombards of Benevento, who had made a levy *en masse*, marched from the South, and beset the gates of St. Paul and St. John, and the three gates between them[2]. King Aistulf himself pitched his tents, like another Alaric, outside the Salarian Gate, and said (or was reported by the trembling citizens to have said), 'Open to me this Salarian gate, and let me enter the City. Hand over to me your Pope, and I will deal gently with you. Otherwise I will demolish your walls and slay you all with one sword. Then let me see who will deliver you out of my hands.'

Lombard ravages.

The Lombard blockade of Rome lasted for three months. Of the events which marked its course we have no other information than that which is conveyed to us by the indignant Papal biographer and by the loud shrieks of Pope Stephen himself, who in two letters written to Pippin about the 24th of February[3] describes, and perhaps exaggerates, the actions of the Lombard king. The farms of the Campagna are said to have been laid waste with fire and sword. The Lombards are accused of burning the churches, of throwing the images of the saints into the fire, of stuffing their pouches with the consecrated elements and devouring them at their gluttonous repasts, of stripping the altars of their altar-cloths and other

[1] See vol. iv. p. 144 (128, 2nd ed.).

[2] Porta S. Pauli = Porta Ostiensis; S. Johannis = Asinaria. Between them were Metrovia, Latina, and Appia.

[3] These are letters 8 and 9 of the Codex Carolinus in Jaffé's edition. Like their two predecessors, they were no doubt written in duplicate (with slight variations), in order to ensure that one at least of them should reach the Frankish king.

adornments, of carrying off and violating the nuns, some of whom died of the ill-treatment which they received, of belabouring the monks, some of whom they lacerated with stripes[1]. The farm-houses on St. Peter's property were destroyed by fire: so too were the suburban houses of all the Romans of every class. The cattle were driven off, the vines cut down to the roots, the harvests 'trampled down and devoured[2].'

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All this catalogue of crimes is derived from the Pope's letters addressed to Pippin, passionately crying for help. The Papal biographer, while confirming in general terms the charge of wasting the Campagna with fire and sword, adds a more specific accusation, that of digging up the bodies of the saints and carrying them away[3]. This lawless quest for sacred relics shows the strange mixture of savagery and devotion in the minds of the Christianised but only half-civilised Lombards.

[1] 'Servos Dei monachos qui pro officio divino in monasteriis morabantur, plagis maximis tundentes, plures laniaverunt. Et sanctimoniales feminas . . . abstrahentes cum magna crudelitate polluerunt: qui etiam et in ipsa contaminatione alias interficere visi sunt.' The passage is not very clear: but I do not think the Pope charges the Lombard soldiers with intentional murder either of monks or nuns, but with savage and brutal treatment of both, which in some cases caused their death.

[2] 'Et vineas fere ad radices absciderunt: et messes conterentes omnino devoraverunt.' But what harvests could there be even in the Campagna in the middle of February? Does not this statement show the rhetorical character of the whole passage?

[3] 'Omnia extra urbem ferro et igne devastans atque funditus demoliens consumsit, imminens vehementius isdem pestifer Aistulfus, ut hanc Romanam capere potuisset urbem. Nam et multa corpora sanctorum effodiens eorum sancta cymiteria ad magnum animae suae detrimentum abstulit' (Vita Stephani II, cap. xli).

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 756. Narni re-captured by the Lombards.

The military operations of the Lombard army seem to have been confined to the re-capture of Narni (which had been previously handed over by Aistulf to the emissary of Pippin[1]), and to frequent but unsuccessful assaults on the walls of Rome[2]. In repelling these attacks the Pope saw with pleasure, conspicuous on the walls, the mail-clad figure of Abbot Warnehar, who had come to Rome as Pippin's envoy, and who now, says the Pope, 'watched day and night for the defence of the afflicted City of Rome, and like a good athlete of Christ strove with all his might for the defence and liberation of all of us Romans[3].'

Prowess of Abbot Warnehar.

Another cry to Pippin for help.

Late in the second month of the siege the valiant Warnehar, along with two other of Pippin's envoys[4], returned from Rome, accompanied by George, bishop of Ostia. They travelled by sea[5], and they bore two letters from Stephen to the king, from which the foregoing particulars as to Aistulf's invasion have been

[1] This fact of the surrender of Narni by the Lombards must be taken as qualifying Stephen's rhetorical statement (Ep. 7) that Aistulf had not been willing to restore a hand's breadth of territory to St. Peter.

[2] 'Castrum itaque illum Narniensem quem pridem reddiderat misso Francorum a jure beati Petri abstulit' (Vit. Steph. xli). 'Civitatem Narniensem quam beato Petro concessistis' (Cod. Car., Ep 8).

[3] 'Warneharium religiosum abbatem missum vestrum.' 'Praefatus vero Warneharius pro amore beati Petri loricam se induens, per muros istius afflictae Romanae civitatis vigilabat die noctuque: et pro nostrâ omnium Romanorum defensione atque liberatione, ut bonus adleta (*sic*) Christi, decertavit totis suis cum viribus' (Codex Carolinus, Ep. 8). The name of Warnehar's convent does not seem to be recorded.

[4] Thomaric and Comita.

[5] 'Quam ob rem constricti vix potuimus marino in itinere praesentes nostras litteras et missum ad vestram Christianitatem dirigere' (Ibid.).

quoted. These letters repeated in yet shriller key than their predecessors the entreaties, nay the commands, of the Pope to Pippin, if he valued his eternal salvation, to come speedily to the rescue of Rome. 'The Lombards taunt us in their rage and fury, saying, "Now we have surrounded you. Let the Franks come if they can and deliver you from our hands." On you, after God and St. Peter, depend the lives of all the Romans. If we perish all the nations of the earth will say, "Where is the confidence of the Romans which they placed in the kings and the nation of the Franks?" More than that, the sin of our ruin will lie on your soul; and in the last great day of judgment, when the Lord shall sit surrounded by the blessed Peter and the other Apostles to judge as it were by fire every class, each sex, and every one of this world's potentates, He will harden His heart against you, who now harden your heart against our prayers, and will say to you (O God forbid that it should be so), "I know you not, because you did not help the Church of God, and because you took no care to deliver His own peculiar people when they were in peril."'

BK. VIII. CH. 8. 756.

St. Peter's letter.

To add emphasis to these two letters a third was brought containing and enforcing the same arguments, and putting them in the mouth of the awful holder of the keys of heaven, St. Peter himself[1]. The letter is addressed to the three kings, Pippin, Charles, and Carloman; to the most holy bishops, abbots, presbyters,

[1] 'Petrus vocatus apostolus a Jesu Christo Dei vivi filio... et per me omnis Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia capud (*sic*), omnium ecclesiarum Dei... adque ejusdem almae ecclesiae Stephanus praesul: Gracia pax et virtus,' &c. (Codex Carolinus, 10).

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and to all religious monks; also to the dukes, counts, armies and people dwelling in Frank-land. In it the Apostle assures his correspondents that he has chosen them as his adopted sons for the deliverance from the hands of their enemies of the City of Rome in which his bones repose, and the people of Rome committed to his care by Christ. 'As if I, God's apostle Peter, were now standing in my bodily presence before you, even so do you firmly believe that you hear the words of my exhortation, because, though I be absent in the flesh, in the spirit I am not far from you. For it is written, "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward." Moreover our Lady, the Mother of God, Mary ever a virgin, doth with us most solemnly adjure, warn, and order you: and the like do the thrones and dominations and the host of the heavenly army, the martyrs and confessors of Christ, and all who are in any way well-pleasing to God.

'Run! run! by the living and true God I exhort and summon you: run and help, ere the living fountain which has satisfied your thirst be dried up, ere the last spark of the flame which gave you light be quenched, ere your spiritual mother, the Holy Church of God, through whom you hope to receive eternal life, be attacked and foully ravished by impious men. . . . I speak on behalf of that City of Rome in which the Lord ordained that my body should rest, that City which He commended to my care and made the foundation of the faith. Liberate that City and its people, your brethren, and do not suffer it to be invaded by the nation of the Lombards: so may your provinces and your possessions not be invaded by nations that ye wot not of. Let not me be separated from my Roman

people: so may you not be separated from the kingdom of God and the life eternal. I conjure, I conjure you, O my best beloved ones, by the living God, suffer not this my City of Rome and the people that dwelleth therein to be any longer tortured by the nation of the Lombards: so may your bodies and souls not be tortured in the eternal and unquenchable fire of Tartarus with the devil and his pestilential angels. And let not the sheep of the Lord's flock committed to my care by God, namely the Roman people, be any longer scattered abroad, so may the Lord not scatter you and cast you forth as He did unto the people of Israel.' BK. VIII.

To address such a letter to the Frankish king in the name of the Apostle himself was certainly a daring stroke of rhetoric. It jars upon modern taste and feeling, it may perhaps have jarred upon the spiritual sensibilities of some men even in that day, to have the Prince of the Apostles introduced thus audaciously as an actor on the scene where Stephen, Aistulf, and Pippin were playing their respective parts. But if it was an offence against reverence and good taste, there is no reason to think that it was anything more. It would be perfectly understood by those to whom the letter was addressed that the words were the words of Stephen, though the superscription of the letter assigned them to Peter. It is surely through a deficiency of imagination and of insight into the feelings of a past age and its modes of expressing them, that some modern authors have seen in this document an attempt to impose on the credulity of Pippin by presenting him with a forged letter from the world of spirits [1].

[1] I cannot express my own view of this document better than in the words of Gibbon: 'See this most extraordinary letter in the

BK. VIII. CH. 8.

756. Pippin's second campaign in Italy.

These urgent entreaties, these promises of spiritual reward and menaces of spiritual perdition, produced the desired effect. It was probably as early in 756 as warlike operations could be undertaken that Pippin again marched by way of Chalons-sur-Saone and Geneva to S. Jean de Maurienne, and crossed the Mont Cenis, routing the Lombards, who seem to have been again stationed at the mouth of the pass, and upon whom Pippin's soldiers burst with Frankish fury, slaying many and driving the rest in flight before them down the valley[1]. But on his march towards Pavia, he met, not Aistulf, but two unlooked-for visitors from Constantinople. George the first secretary[2] and John life-guardsman[3] (the same officer doubtless who had come on a similar mission two years before) had arrived in Rome charged with a commission to the Frankish king. Stephen had informed them of Pippin's intended movements, and had probably showed by his manner that he was no longer the subservient courtier of Byzantium, but that the 'Donation of Constantine' was about to take effect through the intervention of his powerful friend beyond the Alps. The Imperial envoys disbelieved the tale, but took ship for Marseilles, accompanied by an emissary from the Pope. On their arrival at Marseilles they found that the Pope's in-

Interview with ambassadors from Constantinople.

Codex Carolinus, Epist. iii. p. 92 [ed. Jaffé, pp. 55–60]. The enemies of the popes have charged them with fraud and blasphemy: yet they surely meant to persuade rather than deceive. This introduction of the dead or of immortals was familiar to the ancient orators, though it is executed on this occasion in the rude fashion of the age.'

[1] The few and meagre particulars that we possess as to this campaign are furnished us by the Continuer of 'Fredegarius,' § 38.

[2] 'Proto a secretis.'

[3] 'Silentiarius.'

formation had been too true, that Pippin was indeed already on his march for Italy; and probably the gossip of the seaport told that the expedition was all for the 'justice of St. Peter,' with not a word about the 'justice of the Emperor.' Saddened by this discovery they strove to the utmost of their power to detain the Papal envoy at Marseilles, to prevent him from reaching the presence of the king. But 'though,' we are told, 'they afflicted him grievously, by the intervention of St. Peter their crafty cleverness was brought to nought.' However, the Imperial ambassadors[1] getting the start of the Papal envoy, travelled with rapidity to the camp of the Frankish king, whom they overtook not far from Pavia. With earnest entreaties and the promise of many presents George besought Pippin to restore Ravenna and the cities and villages of the Exarchate to the Empire. 'But in no wise,' says the biographer, 'did he avail to incline the firm heart of that most christian and benignant king to any such surrender. Mild as he was, that worshipper of God declared [with emphasis] that on no account whatever should those cities be alienated from the power of the blessed Peter and the jurisdiction of the Roman Church and the Apostolic See, affirming with an oath that for no [living] man's favour had he given himself once and again to the conflict, but solely for love of St. Peter and for the pardon of his sins: asserting too that no abundance of treasure would bribe him to take away what he had

[1] It is not quite clear from the Papal biographer's narrative whether John the *silentiarius* accompanied George the *proto a secretis* to Pavia or not. The rest of the narrative is in the singular number.

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once offered for St. Peter's acceptance. Having given this answer to the Imperial ambassador, he at once gave him leave to return to his own place by another way, and thus did the Silentiarius arrive at Rome, having accomplished nothing of his purpose.

Aistulf beaten to his knees.

As to the details of Pippin's second campaign in Italy we know scarcely anything. Aistulf probably abandoned the siege of Rome by the end of March, and returned to Pavia to defend himself against the threatened invasion. Pippin with his nephew Tassilo, the young duke of Bavaria, again ravaged the plains of Lombardy, and again pitched his tents under the walls of Pavia[1]. Once more Aistulf saw himself compelled to beg humbly for peace, to renew his promise to surrender to the Pope the cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, and to add thereto the town of Comiaclum[2] which lay in a lagoon north of Ravenna, and may perhaps have made the occupation of Ravenna more secure. A written 'donation of all these territories' to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church and all pontiffs of the Apostolic See for ever was given by Aistulf and laid up among the Papal archives. Assuredly also some stronger guarantee than this for the fulfilment of Aistulf's promises was taken by the Frankish king. According to one chronicler[3]—not of the most trustworthy character—Aistulf had to surrender a third part of the great Lombard hoard to his conqueror, to promise fealty and a yearly tribute of 5,000 *solidi* to the king of the Franks, and to guarantee by the surrender of hostages the fulfilment

[1] 'Fredegar.' Continuatio, § 38.

[2] Comacchio.

[3] The Annales Mettenses.

of all previous engagements to St. Peter and Pope Stephen[1]. BK. VIII. CH. 8.

When Pippin returned to his own land he commissioned the faithful Fulrad, now by interchange of hospitalities doubly bound to the Pope, to see to the fulfilment of Aistulf's promises. Accompanied by the officers of the Lombard king, Fulrad 'entered,' says the biographer, 'each one of the cities both of the Pentapolis and Emilia, received their submission, and taking with him the nobles[2] of each city, together with the keys of their gates, arrived at Rome. Having placed the keys of the city of Ravenna as well as of the different cities of the Exarchate along with King Pippin's donation[3] on the tomb of St. Peter[4], he handed them over to the same Apostle of God and to his vicar the most holy Pope and all his pontifical successors, to be for ever possessed and disposed of by them.' 756.

The biographer then gives the names of twenty-three cities and towns, which will be found in a Note at the end of this chapter. It will be sufficient here to state that they did not comprise (as one might suppose from the previous sentence) all the cities of the two provinces of the Emilia and Pentapolis. Of the Emilia

[1] 'Haistulphus autem per judicium Francorum, thesauri quod in Ticino erat tertiam partem Pippino tradidit: sacramenta iterum renovans obsidesque tribuens, promisit se partibus Francorum semper esse fidelem et annuale tributum, quod Francis debuerat per missos suos annis singulis esse transmissurum et ea quae sancto Petro vel Stephano papae annis praeteritis promiserat cuncta reddidit.'

[2] 'Primatos.'

[3] 'Una cum superscripta donatione de eis a suo rege emissa.'

[4] 'In confessione beati Petri.'

BK. VIII. only about a fifth, in the extreme east of the province, was yet obtained by the Papal see. The whole of the Pentapolis however, with the important exception of Ancona, was included in the cession to the Pope of which Fulrad was the happy instrument. This cession therefore comprised all the coast-line of the Adriatic from Comacchio north of Ravenna to Sinigaglia north of Ancona. Inland it reached up to the great dorsal spine of Italy formed by the Apennine range, and was doubtless now connected with the *Ducatus Romae* by the western branch of the great Flaminian Way, on which 'the Republic' had long held the key-city of Perugia and now probably acquired whatever other towns or villages were necessary to establish a secure communication between the bishop of Rome and his new dominion on the Adriatic. Narni, we are expressly told, was now again restored to him, but Narni is on the eastern branch of the Via Flaminia, over which, since the Lombard duke of Spoleto occupied that important post of vantage, we can hardly suppose the Popes to have had any claim other than one of courtesy.

Thus then is the struggle at last ended. The keys of all those fair cities repose in the well-known crypt where, amid ever-burning candles, lie the martyred remains of the fisherman of Galilee. The territory between the Apennines and the Adriatic, ruled over of late by a Greek exarch, wrested from him by the Lombards and from the Lombards by the Frankish king, has been handed over, in spite of the 'Greek' Emperor's remonstrance, 'to the Roman Republic, to St. Peter and to his Vicars the Popes of Rome for ever.' The Pope does not yet assume the

kingly title, nor must we commit the anachronism of calling him 'il Papa-Rè,' but it cannot be doubted that the old man at whose feet the keys of the twenty-three cities have been laid, and before whom the nobles of those cities have bowed, is recognised as their ruler, and that we behold in Stephen II the real sovereign of 'the Exarchate.'

756.

NOTE A. List of the Cities ceded by Aistulf to Stephen II (756).

The following are the names of the ceded cities as given by the Papal biographer, with their modern equivalents, which are in some instances conjectural.

	Ancient Name.		*Modern Name.*
1	Ravenna		Ravenna.
2	Ariminum	(P)	Rimini.
3	Pe(n)saurum	(P)	Pesaro.
4	Conca	(P)	La Cattolica, on the coast between Rimini and Pesaro.
5	Fanum	(P)	Fano.
6	Cesenae	(E)	Cesena.
7	Sinogalliae	(P)	Sinigaglia.
8	Esae	(P)	Jesi.
9	Forum Populi	(E)	Forlimpopoli.
10	Forum Livii	(E)	Forli.
11	(the castrum) Sussubium	(E)	Castro Caro (near Forli).
12	Mons Feletri	(P)	Montefeltro, now San Leo, S.W. of S. Marino.
13	Acerreaggium	(P)	Arcevia, near Jesi.
14	Mons Lucatium	(E)	In the territory of Cesena.
15	Serra	(P)	Serra dei Conti, between Jesi and Fossombrone.
16	Castellum Sancti Marini	(P)	The Republic of San Marino.
17	Vobium or Bobium	(P)	Sarsina.
18	Orbinum	(P)	Urbino.
19	Calles	(P)	Cagli.
20	Luciolae	(P)	Cantiano.
21	Egubium	(P)	Gubbio.
22	Comiaclum		Comacchio.
23	Narnia [1]		Narni.

[1] 'Quae a ducato Spolitino parti Romanorum per evoluta annorum spatia fuerat invasa.'

Of these towns, fifteen (those marked with P in the above list) belonged to the Pentapolis, five (marked with E) to the Emilia. Ravenna is always spoken of as something apart (having been for some time the capital of the province Flaminia, which was succeeded by the name Pentapolis), and is therefore not here included in Emilia. Comacchio would no doubt be included in this 'provincia Ravennantium.' Narni of course is in an entirely different class from the other towns, and was probably looked upon as belonging of right to the *Ducatus Romae.*

A few words may be said as to the geographical terms here used, though the information has been partially given in a previous volume[1]. The province of Emilia (so called from its stretching along the great Via Aemilia), as constituted under Honorius in 396 and described by Paulus Diaconus[2], reached from Piacenza to the neighbourhood of Ravenna, and its chief cities were Placentia, Parma, Rhegium, Bononia, and Forum Cornelii (Imola). The province of Flaminia (or more fully Flaminia et Picenum Annonarium), constituted some time after 364, had Ravenna for its capital, but chiefly consisted of the region afterwards known as the Pentapolis. The five cities from which the Pentapolis derived its name were Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Sena Gallica (or Senogallia), and Ancona. But there seems to have been another inland Pentapolis, known as the Pentapolis Annonaria or Provincia Castellorum[3], which retained in its name a remembrance of the earlier province of Picenum Annonarium, and which probably reckoned as its five chief cities Urbinum, Forum Sempronii (Fossombrone), Aesium or Esae (Jesi), Calles (Cagli), and Eugubium (Gubbio). This inland Pentapolis lay chiefly along the Flaminian Way, where that road crossed the spurs of the Apennines.

In this Note I have chiefly followed the guidance of M. Diehl, who in his 'Études sur l'Administration Byzantine' (pp. 51–63) discusses the geographical question of the limits of the two provinces with great care. But see also Marquardt's 'Römische Staatsverwaltung,' i. 82: and for the identification of some of the places named by the Papal biographer the commentary in Duchesne's edition of the Liber Pontificalis (i. 460).

[1] Vol. vi. pp. 515, 516.
[2] H. L. ii. 18.
[3] Ravennatis Geographia, p. 247 (ed. Pinder and Parthey).

NOTE B.

NOTE B. THE FRAGMENTUM FANTUZZIANUM.

IN connection with the 'Donation of Pippin' at Carisiacum I must mention, though at the risk of obscuring rather than enlightening the discussion, a certain document which goes generally under the above title, and which was published by Fantuzzi in his 'Monumenti Ravennati' (vi. 265). This paper is thus described by Döllinger (Die Papst-Fabeln des Mittelalters, p. 81): 'Soon after [Pippin's victories], under Charles a document was invented, which, composed in very barbarous, sometimes barely intelligible Latin, puts into the mouth of King Pippin a detailed recital of the transactions between himself, the Greeks, the Lombards and Pope Stephen, and then proceeds to hand over to the Pope almost the whole of Italy, including even Istria and Venetia, partly by way of present gift, partly, as in the case of Benevento and Naples, by way of promise when their conquest should have been effected.'

The heading of the document is 'Pippinus . . . almo Patri beatissimoque Apostolorum Principi Petro et per eum sancto in Christo Patri Gregorio [*sic*] Apostolicâ sublimitate fulgenti ejusque successoribus usque in finem saeculi.'

This certainly seems to imply that Pippin is addressing Gregory as Pope, and thus at once to put the document out of court, since we know that Gregory III died Dec. 10, 741, twelve years at least before the events occurred which this document professes to describe. But strangely enough, it goes on to speak of 'beatissimus ejusdem almae sedis *Stephanus*': and describes (in almost unintelligible Latin) how an ambassador has come from Leo, Emperor of Constantinople, authorising the Pope to accept the patronage and defence offered to him by Pippin. Here again we have a startling anachronism. The Emperor Leo III died in 740: Leo IV came to the throne in 775: the whole interval between them, including the years in which this alleged donation was made, is occupied by the reign of Constantine Copronymus. The ambassador who is represented as bringing this surprising and in fact impossible message from the Emperor is named Marinus, possibly from some confused remembrance of that life-guardsman Marinus who was administering the *Ducatus Romae* in the Emperor's name when the plot

was laid against the life of Gregory II, which was supposed to have the Emperor's sanction[1]. But that was some thirty years previous to the time with which this document ought to be dealing. NOTE B.

It goes on to describe the wrath of Aistulf at learning the negotiations between the Pope and the Franks, his ineffectual attempts to keep Stephen in Italy, Stephen's journey into Francia and cordial reception by the king who is the supposed author of the document. We have then the account of two embassies to Aistulf with offers of mediation and of 27,000 *solidi* in silver and 12,000 in gold, if the Lombard will do justice to the claims of 'our fair mother the Church, which is without doubt the head and origin of the whole Christian religion.' Then follows the story of the critical illness of the Pope and his marvellous recovery, after which 'he immediately began earnestly to entreat us in the name of the Lord and by the intercession of St. Peter that we would rise up boldly against Aistulf and the nation of the Lombards and undertake the defence of the Holy Roman Church and of all its possessions. Moved by these exhortations, we ordered that all the counts, tribunes (*sic*), dukes and marquises of our realm should come into our presence after Easter-week, and also all such persons with whom we are accustomed to take counsel on such matters[2]. And when they had all come together according to our bidding, we resolved that on the third day before the Kalends of May [29th of April] we would with Christ's help commence hostilities against Longombardia (*sic*), on this condition and under this covenant of agreement, that we promise to thee the most blessed Peter, key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven, and to thy lovely[3] Vicar the excellent Pope Stephen and his successors to the end of the world, with the consent of all our Frankish abbots, dukes, and counts, that if the Lord God shall give us the victory over the nation of the Lombards, all the cities, duchies, and towns[4] of the Exarchate of Ravenna, and all that aforetime by the Emperor's bounty was subject to the [Papal] (?) domination, and all that

[1] See vol. vi p. 447.

[2] 'Cum quibus de talibus inire debuissemus consilium.' This looks like a borrowing from Einhard, who says 'quidam e primoribus Francorum cum quibus consultare solebat' (Vita Caroli, vi). This would throw the date of the composition of the document later than is suggested by Döllinger.

[3] 'Almo.'

[4] 'Castra.'

NOTE B. has been ravaged and wrested from them by the most wicked generation of the Lombards, shall belong eternally to thee [Peter] and to thy Vicars. And we reserve to ourselves and our successors no right within the territory thus granted, save only that we should benefit by your prayers for the repose of our soul, and that we [Pippin, Charles, and Carloman ?] should be called by you and your people Patricians of the Romans.'

Then follows the delimitation of the territory thus granted to the Pope. 'Beginning from the island of Corsica, the whole of that island, then from Pistoia, by Luna, to Lucca, by the monastery of St. Vivian, by the Mons Pastoris, to Parma, thence to Reggio, to Mantua, to Verona, to Vicenza, thence to Monselice, by the Lagoons[1], the Duchy of the Venetias and Istria in its entirety, and all cities, towns, &c. thereto belonging. Thence to the city of Adria, Comacchio, Ravenna, with the whole undiminished Exarchate, the Emilia, both the Tuscanies (the Lombard and the Roman), the Pentapolis, Montefeltro, Urbino, Cagli, Luceoli, Gubbio, Iesi, Osimo: thence to the Duchy of Spoleto in its entirety: similarly the whole Duchy of Perugia, Bomarzo, Narni, Otricoli, Marturanum (?), Castrum vetus (?), Collinovo (?), Selli (?), Populonia, Centum Cellae [Civita Vecchia], Porto and Ostia, then Campania in its integrity [it included the old Latium], Anagni, Segni, Frisiliones (?), Piperni (?), Verutum (?), Patrica (?) and Castrum Nebitar (?), Terracina, Fondi, Spelunca (?), Gaeta. And if our Lord God shall think fit to subdue unto us Benevento and Naples [they shall be added to the foregoing]. All the before-mentioned territories, that is the Emilia, Pentapolis, both the Tuscanies, the Duchy of Perugia, and the Duchy of Spoleto, do we concede in their entirety to thee, O most blessed Apostle Peter, with all their cities, towns, monasteries and bishoprics under our oath here attested. "Sic et sic et caetera: et deinde sub quâ ratione hoc renovaret pactum."' The rest of the MS. is lost.

So runs this extraordinary document. On looking at the map we see that it virtually concedes to the Pope the whole of Italy except a portion of the upper valley of the Po, left probably as a sort of *solatium* to the despoiled Lombard king,

[1] Bituneas: see Filiasi, Memorie de' Veneti, vii. 10, who says that by this word the barbarians understood the marshes and valleys of the Venetians from Istria to the mouths of the Po.

and perhaps some portions of Apulia and Calabria which were still held by the Greeks. Out of deference to the 'Grecian' Emperor also, his possessions in Sicily and Sardinia are not meddled with. It will be observed in what great detail the little towns of the *Ducatus Romae* and the Pentapolis are mentioned, while Venetia, Istria and the other more remote parts of Italy are left vague. One would say that the geographical knowledge of the author of the document did not extend far beyond Middle Italy.

That the document is a fabrication there can be little doubt. There is no question of the good faith of the editor, Fantuzzi, who says that it is a copy given to him by Abbate Canonici and taken from the 'Codice Trevisano.' As to this latter title we are told that Bernardo Trevisano, a Venetian nobleman and an eminent man of letters, caused copies to be made of many documents which were existing at the close of last century in the Archivio Segreto of the Republic of Venice, especially in the volumes of *Pacta* and *Commemoralia.* It seems to be not impossible that the original document is still lying hid in some repository of state-papers at Venice.

But whatever may be the external history of the document, the anachronisms and mis-statements which it contains stamp it as a forgery. Fantuzzi fights hard for its authenticity, suggesting that Gregory may be meant not for Pope Gregory (II or III), but for a legate of Stephen; that possibly Leo may be the young son of Constantine Copronymus associated with his father in the Empire, and that his father's name may have accidentally dropped out. All this however is but fighting a hopeless battle. Scholars are now apparently unanimous in looking on the Fragmentum Fantuzzianum as a forgery, but most of them seem to consider it an early forgery, probably belonging to the reign of Charles the Great, possibly to that of his son. The authors of 'The Pope and the Council' who write under the name of 'Janus' say unhesitatingly that it was fabricated in order that it might be laid before Charles the Great after he had achieved the conquest of Italy, to induce him to make the Donation (very similar in its terms) which is described in the Life of Pope Hadrian. The difficulty of this theory is that it is hard to understand why a document framed for this purpose should have contained such glaring errors as those contained in the names of Pope Gregory

NOTE B. and Emperor Leo, errors which must, one would think, have been at once detected by a contemporary, though a younger contemporary, such as Charles the Great. Oelsner (pp. 496–498) suggests with some plausibility that the confusion arising from the introduction of the names of Gregory and Leo has been caused by following the guidance of Theophanes, who is equally astray as to the true succession of events in Western Christendom. His opinion is that the document was forged about 824, and that the main object of the forger is expressed in the sentence which disclaims any reserved rights of sovereignty over the ceded territories. This, rather than the exact delimitation of the papal dominions, was, he considers, the aim of the fabricator: it was a qualitative rather than a quantitative addition to the rights of the Holy See.

The above suggestion, however, as to the influence of Theophanes on the fabricator of the document raises a curious question. If Theophanes were consulted it would be by some one acquainted with Greek, and probably in some connection with the Byzantine Court. Now one of the strangest things to be found in the document is its audacious assertion that it was with the full concurrence of the Emperor that the Pope was seeking the protection of the Frankish king. Does not this look like an attempt on the part of the writer to reconcile the Papal claims with allegiance to the Emperor at Constantinople? And who so likely to make such an attempt as an ecclesiastic in Venice, sorely tried in the beginning of the ninth century between the conflicting claims of East and West on her allegiance? And may this not explain the fact, otherwise so mysterious, that the document turns up among the Venetian archives?

One cannot help hoping that more will yet be discovered as to this curious document. Though all men now hold it to be a forgery [1], as has been said they take it for an early forgery (the very barbarism of the style somewhat supporting this conclusion), and for our purpose, here, as with the Donation of Constantine, an early forgery is only less valuable than an early authentic document, since it shows what was passing in the minds of the men of that day, especially in the minds of the astute and far-calculating scribes of the Papal Curia.

[1] Troya (iv. 510–524) argued for its authenticity, but failed to convince his readers.

NOTE C. On the date of Pippin's First Invasion of Italy.

NOTE C.

In assigning 755 rather than 754 as the date of Pippin's first Italian campaign I find myself in opposition to the greater number of modern historians, though there are not wanting advocates[1] for the date which I have adopted.

The question is not an easy one, and while contending for my view of the case I shall hope to indicate fairly the arguments for the earlier date.

Our only authorities for these central years of the eighth century are:—

(1) The Liber Pontificalis.

(2) The Codex Carolinus.

(3) The Continuation of the chronicle of the so-called 'Fredegarius.'

(4) The Frankish Annals, described in pp. 85–92.

On this special question the Codex Carolinus throws no light, since, as Pope Stephen was in France, there was no occasion for the interchange of letters between him and the king of the Franks. We are therefore shut up to the Liber Pontificalis, the Annals, and the Continuer of 'Fredegarius.'

I. The author of the biography of Pope Stephen II, though not a very brilliant or impartial writer, has the advantage of being very near the facts narrated[2]. It is probable that he was a member of the Papal Curia, and that though he did not himself make the toilsome journey across the Alps he conversed with his brother ecclesiastics who formed part of the Papal train, and founded his Life on their narratives. Unfortunately he gives us very scanty information as to dates. He tells us, however, that the 15th of November in the 7th Indiction (753) was the day when the Pope moved away from Pavia and commenced his journey into Francia. He then describes the meeting of king

[1] Notably Dr. Sigurd Abel, author of 'Der Untergang des Langobardenreiches in Italien' (Göttingen, 1859). See his 'Anhang,' pp. 122–127.

[2] Duchesne says (p. ccxliv), 'Les biographes de Zacharie, d'Etienne II et d'Etienne III sont de véritables narrateurs, et qui racontent au lendemain même des évènements.'

NOTE C. and pontiff at Ponthion on the 6th of January (754), the interview in the royal chapel, the consignment of the Pope on account of the wintry weather to the shelter of the monastery of S. Denis near Paris. 'After some days[1]' the Pope crowns Pippin and his two sons kings of the Franks. He falls dangerously ill as the result of the hardships of the journey and the severity of the climate, but suddenly and unexpectedly recovers. King Pippin goes to Carisiacum, meets there the nobles of the realm, and imbues them with his determination to assist the Pope. Then follows the ineffectual mission of Carloman to plead the cause of the Lombard king. The King and Pope shut him up in a monastery in Francia, where after some days[2] he departs this life.

Then follow three abortive embassies from Pippin to Aistulf to endeavour to persuade him quietly to yield to the Pope's demands.

Then the invasion, with one last embassy to Aistulf, as ineffectual as all that had preceded it.

This is all that we can collect from the Papal biographer. It will be noticed that he only speaks of one winter, and taken by itself his narrative does perhaps point to an invasion of Italy undertaken in the course of the year 754. The repeated embassies to Aistulf, however, would occupy at least many months, and as we know from other sources that the Frankish nobles were not favourable to the proposed intervention in Italian affairs, a good deal of time might be occupied in smoothing the way for the great assembly at Carisiacum at which their consent was obtained.

And here we are met by the question as to the date of Pippin's coronation by the Pope. That date is not given by any contemporary authority, but Hilduin, Abbot of S. Denis (who died in 814), gives the 28th of July as the date both of the hallowing of an altar to SS. Peter and Paul in the monastery of S. Denis and of the coronation of Pippin and his sons by the Pope[3]; and this date is generally accepted as correct. But if the coronation

[1] 'Post aliquantos dies,' a vague expression which may mean weeks or months, according to the writer's habit of mind.

[2] Again 'post aliquantos dies.' We know that in this case the words denote an interval of a year.

[3] See Oelsner (p. 154), who quotes from Surius, Vitae Sanctorum, Oct. 9, p. 130.

did not take place till the end of July, very little time is left for the assembly at Carisiacum, and for the three missions to Aistulf which according to the biographer must all have intervened between the coronation and the campaign, and that campaign is driven desperately late into the autumn of 754. NOTE C.

II. I now turn to the Continuation of 'Fredegarius,' which it must be remembered is written not only by a contemporary, but under the direct supervision of Count Nibelung, first cousin of Pippin. His words are very noteworthy. After describing Pope Stephen's journey into Francia, his appeal for help against Aistulf, and his wintering at Paris in the monastery of S. Denis, he mentions an embassy (only one it is true) to the Lombard king from Pippin, and then continues :—

'Cumque praedictus rex Pippinus quod per legatos suos petierat non impetrasset, et Aistulfus hoc facere contempsit, *evoluto anno* praefatus rex ad Kal. Martias omnes Francos sicut mos Francorum est, Bernaco villâ publicâ ad se venire praecepit. Initoque consilio cum proceribus suis, eo tempore quo solent reges ad bella procedere cum Stephano papa vel reliquas nationes . . . per Lugduno Galliae et Vienna pergentes usque Maurienne pervenerunt.'

('And when King Pippin could not obtain what he wanted by his ambassadors, and Aistulf scorned to comply with his request, *after a year had elapsed* he ordered all the Franks to come to him according to their custom on the 1st of March at the palace of Brennacum [Braisne-sur-Aisne]. And having taken counsel with his nobles, at the time when the kings are wont to proceed to war, he started with Pope Stephen and all the nations that were accustomed to serve under his banner and went by way of Lyons and Vienne to Maurienne.')

Surely this passage is very strong in favour of the date of 755 for the campaign. Is not the natural meaning of *evoluto anno* that a year was consumed in these negotiations, rather than simply that the year 1 March 753 to 1 March 754 had run its course, which is the other interpretation of the passage? And see how the chronicler insists on the fact that the final muster at Brennacum took place on the Kalends of March, and that the king made his expedition 'at the time which was usual with Frankish kings,' the spring. How entirely inconsistent is the

NOTE C. language of this chronicler with the theory of a late (and very late) autumn campaign, which has been invented in order to reconcile the accepted date of Pippin's coronation (28th of July) with an invasion of Italy in the same year. It certainly seems to me that if we attach any weight to the statements of the Continuer of 'Fredegarius' we must allow an interval of more than twelve months between the Pope's arrival in France and the commencement of Pippin's campaign. Doubtless this seems to us, who know how the affair was to end, a long interval, but it may be probably accounted for by the Pope's sickness, by the repeated negotiations with Aistulf, by possible bargainings between Stephen and Pippin before the Pope consented to perform the coronation ceremony (but this is only a conjecture), by Carloman's visit, and by the undoubted reluctance of the Frankish nobles to take part in the Italian enterprise, a reluctance which may easily have lasted for the greater part of a year until it was overcome by Pippin's diplomacy.

III. We pass on to the Annals, and first to those which are our main source for the history of this time, the so-called Annales Laurissenses Majores, which most scholars are now inclined to consider as not the work of a mere monkish chronicler, but as in fact the official annals of the Frankish kingdom.

Now this important work gives the following dates:—

753. The Pope's arrival in Francia. (There is no contradiction here, though the Pope did not actually meet King Pippin till the 6th of January, 754, for the annalist's years run from March to March.) Carloman comes also to oppose the Pope's petition.

754. The Pope anoints Pippin and his two sons kings of the Franks. (In the so-called Annales Einhardi there are added the words 'mansitque hiberno tempore in Franciâ.')

755. Pippin invades Italy, conquers Aistulf at the passes, besieges Aistulf in Pavia, receives the submission of Aistulf, takes hostages, and returns to France. Carloman remains at Vienne with queen Bertha, languishes for many days, and dies in peace.

756. As Aistulf does not keep the promises which he had made, Pippin makes a second journey into Italy and again shuts up Aistulf in Pavia, takes stronger securities for the fulfilment of

his promises to St. Peter, restores Ravenna and Pentapolis and all the Exarchate to the Pope, and returns to Gaul. NOTE C.

Death of Aistulf while meditating renewed violation of his promises.

This is the course of events which I have described in my narrative, and which is I think fairly to be deduced from the Papal biographer and the Continuer of 'Fredegarius.' According to this statement the two Italian campaigns of Pippin took place in two successive years, 755 and 756.

But it must be stated that a number of smaller and less trustworthy annals give a different account of the matter.

The Annales Sancti Amandi give

754 for the Pope's arrival in Francia;

755 for Pippin's first campaign and the death of Carloman;

757 for the siege of Pavia, i.e. for Pippin's second Italian campaign. This is adverse testimony, inasmuch as it interposes a year between the two campaigns. No one suggests that 757 is the true date of the second campaign. The Annales Laureshamenses put the two invasions in 754 and 756 respectively, the Annales Alamannici in 753 and 755, and the Annales Guelferbytani and Nazariani agree with them, and state expressly for 755 'Franci absque bello quieverunt.' On the other hand, the Annales Laurissenses Minores give us in

756 Stephen's journey to Francia;

757 his anointing of Pippin and his sons;

759 Pippin's first Italian campaign;

760 Stephen's return to Rome and the death of Carloman;

761 Pippin's second Italian campaign and the surrender of Ravenna and the Pentapolis to St. Peter;

762 death of Aistulf.

But these dates are wildly wrong. It is quite certain that Aistulf died in the year 756 and Pope Stephen II in 757.

It will be seen that accuracy with respect to dates is not a strong point with most of these chroniclers. Still it must be admitted that the majority of them support the view of a year's interval between the two campaigns. This fact and the absence of any express allusion to two winters passed by the Pope in Francia constitute the strength of the case for the date 754. But it seems to me that, on a review of all the evidence, the arguments in favour of 755 are the most powerful.

NOTE C. (The controversy will be found well set forth on one side by Abel in the Anhang to his monograph on the fall of the Lombard power in Italy, already referred to, and on the other side by Oelsner in Excurs I ('Zur Chronologie der Italienischen Ereignisse') to his Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches unter König Pippin. The latter brings forward certain documentary evidence in favour of the date 754, but I think he would himself admit that this evidence by no means amounts to demonstration.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE PONTIFICATE OF PAUL I (757–767).

Sources:—

The life of Paul I is very poorly represented in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS. The ten years of his reign are dismissed in three pages, while sixteen are given to the five years of his predecessor and thirteen to the four years of his successor. There are other reasons which to some extent account for this difference, but one is inclined to suggest that while Paul I may have himself written or superintended the writing of the life of his brother Stephen II, none of his successors performed the same pious office for him.

Happily the defects of the Liber Pontificalis are in great measure supplied by the CODEX CAROLINUS, which is unusually full and complete for this period. Thirty-two letters, some of them long letters, from Pope Paul to Pippin and his sons, give us, notwithstanding much tedious repetition, a very valuable insight into the politics of Europe at this time. We lack of course the Frankish replies, which would have been so valuable for the historian, and the omission of the dates (which must at one time have been appended to the letters) obliges us often to resort to conjecture as to the time of their composition, a conjecture which may sometimes range over nearly the whole ten years of Paul's pontificate. I follow the numbering and in the main the chronological arrangement of Jaffé. In one case I venture to differ from him. Letter 37, which he assigns to a period between 764 and 766, seems to me to be placed with more probability (as Troya has done) about the year 762.

As indicating the care with which the Codex Carolinus was

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compiled it is interesting to look at Ep. 15. It is only given in brief abstract, but this notice is appended: 'This letter is not copied in this volume, because by reason of age it is already in great measure destroyed.'

For Byzantine affairs, THEOPHANES and NICEPHORUS.

Guide:—

Bury's History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. ii.

WE have again reached a point at which there is a clearing of the historical stage and some new actors appear upon the scene.

Martyrdom of Boniface, 754 (?).

It was probably while Pope Stephen was still sheltering at S. Denis that the great champion of the Papacy, St. Boniface, received the crown of martyrdom. Revisiting the scene of his early labours in Friesland in the summer of 754[1], he had collected a number of recently-baptized converts on the banks of the river Boorn, in the flat land between the Zuyder Zee and the German Ocean, and was about to perform the ceremony of their confirmation. A party of Frisian heathens, revengeful for his old attacks on their idols, and coveting the ecclesiastical treasures, the vessels of silver and gold which he and his companions (for he had a long train of attendants) had brought, came upon them at daybreak on the 5th of June. Boniface forbade his followers to fight, held high the sacred relics, and said to his disciples, 'Fear not them which kill the body. Anchor your souls on God, who after this short life is over will give you the prize of eternal life in the fellowship of the citizens on high.' The barbarians rushed on with swords drawn. Boniface lifted a copy

[1] Or 755. Oelsner (489–494) contends for the earlier date, which is that given by most of the annalists; but there is some contemporary evidence for the later.

of the Gospels high over his head. A Frisian sword struck down the feeble defence. He was slain, and fifty-two of his companions with him. The barbarians rifled the tents, drank the sacramental wine, and hurled the precious manuscripts into the sluggish river, where long after, we are told, they were found uninjured. The very codex which the saint had used for a helmet showed the barbarian's sword-cut through it, but had all its letters visible. So perished the great apostle of Germany. The monks of Utrecht soon appeared upon the scene of the martyrdom, and carried off the precious relics of the martyrs to their own cathedral. The great prize of all, however, the body of Boniface himself, they were not permitted to retain. It was borne away up the Rhine-stream and the Main-stream to be laid in his own beloved monastery of Fulda.

754 (?).

Death of Aistulf, Dec. 756.

It was only a few months after the surrender of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis that Aistulf, king of the Lombards, vanished from the scene. The Frankish chroniclers[1] tell us that he was 'meditating how to falsify his promises, leave his hostages in the lurch, and violate his oaths'; but no evidence is adduced of these fraudulent designs. All that we know with certainty is that he fell from his horse while hunting, was thrown violently against a tree[2], and died after a few days of the injuries which he had received. The accident probably happened at the end of December, 756, for in the letter which Pope Stephen II wrote to Pippin to inform him of the fact he says, 'That follower of the devil, Aistulf, devourer of the blood of Christians, destroyer of the churches of God, struck

[1] Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi.

[2] 'Fredeg.' Contin. 122.

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by a divine blow has been swallowed up in the infernal whirlpool. For in the very days in which he set forth to devastate this City of Rome, after the year had come round, he was so stricken by the divine sword that at the very same season of the year in which he had committed so many crimes he finished his impious life[1].'

The Lombard people, as might be expected, had gentler words to use in speaking of their departed king. Six years, nine years, fifteen years after his death he was still 'our lord king Aistulf of good and holy memory[2].'

Ratchis and Desiderius competitors for the kingship.

On the death of Aistulf the Lombard state narrowly escaped the horrors of a civil war. One of the most powerful men in the kingdom was a certain Desiderius, a native probably of Brescia[3], who had been much

[1] Codex Carolinus, Ep. 11.

[2] 'Sanctae recordandae memoriae Aistulf rex' in a document of February 19, 763 (Troya, v. 201); 'sanctae memoriae domini Haistulfi regis,' June 766 (Ibid. 361); 'a bonae memoriae Domino Haistulfo rege,' July 772 (Ibid. 767). All quoted by Oelsner, p. 283, n. 4.

[3] See Oelsner, 284, who does not quite prove the case by the documents which he adduces. There is no doubt, however, that a nunnery was founded by Desiderius and his wife Ansa at Brescia, and that till far on into the Middle Ages legends of the last Lombard king and his family clustered round this sanctuary. One as to the elevation of Desiderius to the throne is thus given in the Legend of St. Julia from a MS. Chronicle of Bishop Sicard of Cremona (who died in 1215): I follow the translation of Abel (Geschichtschreiber der Deutschen Vorzeit; 8 Jahrhundert, iv. 205): 'There lived in Brescia a nobleman, pious and God-fearing, named Desiderius. When the barons and chief persons of the realm gathered together at Pavia to choose a king, Desiderius said to his wife Ansa, "I will go there too." She laughed and said, "Go: mayhap they will choose thee for their king." He went, and arrived on the first day at a place called Lenum, where he lay

favoured by the late king and advanced by him to the high dignity of Duke of Tuscany. At the head of the assembled forces of that important district he stood forth as a claimant for the crown. Desiderius, however, was apparently a man of undistinguished birth. There were other Lombard nobles who considered themselves to rank much before him in the kingdom; and above all, the late king's brother Ratchis in his cell on Monte Cassino, notwithstanding that for seven and a half years he had worn the monkish cowl, heard with indignation that the throne which had once been his was occupied by such an one as the low-born Desiderius. He escaped to Pavia, and

756-7.

down to rest under a tree. While he slept, a snake stole forth and wound itself round his head like a crown. His servant feared to wake him, lest the snake should bite him. Meanwhile Desiderius dreamed that a royal diadem was placed upon his head. Then he awoke, unharmed by the snake, and said, "Arise, let us go, for I have had a dream from which I judge that I shall be king." When they came to Pavia they found the people standing about in the courtyard, waiting for the decision of the electors, who had consulted together for several days without being able to come to a decision. So the crowd said to Desiderius, "Go in to them, Desiderius, and tell them that we are tired of waiting." He went in and told them what the crowd said, and when they saw Desiderius, of whom nobody had thought before as a candidate, one of the assembly cried out, "This Desiderius is an honourable man, and though he has not large possessions, he is valiant in war. Let us choose him for king." So it was done: he was arrayed in royal robes and proclaimed king amid general rejoicing. But he forgot not the place where the serpent had wound itself round his head, but built there a glorious abbey in honour of Jesus Christ and St. Benedict, and enriched it with many gifts. His wife also built at her own cost a convent for nuns in Brescia, and endowed it with estates, meadows, mills, and springs of water, with many dependants and slaves in all the surrounding bishoprics, and with costly ornaments, as became a queen of the Lombards.'

BK. VIII. CH. 9. there for three months, from December to March, ruled in the palace of the Lombards[1].

757. Pope Stephen II helps Desiderius to the throne.

Happily a civil war was avoided, mainly as it would seem through the influence of the Pope, who beheld, doubtless with genuine disapproval, this attempt of a professed monk to return to the world and the palace which he had quitted, and who saw an opportunity to extend his newly-won dominions by working on the Duke of Tuscany's eagerness for the crown. An agreement was come to between Desiderius and Stephen, which is thus described in a letter written by the Pope to his Frankish patron:—

Agreement for a further cession of territory to the Pope.

'Now by the providence of God, by the hands of His Prince of Apostles St. Peter, and by thy strong arm, by the industrious precaution of that man beloved of God, thy henchman Fulrad, our beloved son, Desiderius, mildest of men[2], has been ordained king over the nation of the Lombards. And in the presence of the same Fulrad he has promised on his oath to restore to St. Peter the remaining cities, Faenza, Imola, and Ferrara, with the forests and other territories thereto belonging; also the cities Osimo, Ancona, and Umana, with their territories. And afterwards, through Duke Garrinod and Grimwald, he promised to restore to us the city of Bologna with its district, and he professed that he would always remain in quiet peace with the Church of God and our people. He declared that he was loyal towards your God-protected realm, and he

[1] 'Gubernavit palacium Ticinense Ratchis gloriosus germanus Aistulfi, dudum rex, tunc autem Christi famulus a Decembrio usque Martium'; Catalogus Regum Langobardorum Brixiensis (M. G. H. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum, p. 503).

[2] 'Desiderius vir mitissimus.'

begged us to entreat your Goodness that you would confirm the treaty of peace with him and the whole nation of the Lombards[1].' BK. VIII. CH. 9. 757.

This compact, as we learn from the Papal biographer (as well as from the letter just quoted), was framed on the advice of Fulrad, now evidently the accepted and permanent link between Pippin and Stephen, and it was made not only in his presence but in that of Stephen's brother Paul the deacon, and of Christopher, who had accompanied him as *regionarius* into France, who was now *consiliarius*, and who was thereafter to fill the higher office of *primicerius* and to play an important part in Roman politics. The object and motive of this stroke of Papal policy are clear. As stated by the learned editor of the Liber Pontificalis[2], the conquests of Aistulf from the Empire having been restored, it was now desired to go back a generation further and reclaim the conquests of Liutprand. These were 'the remaining cities' on the west and south of the already-ceded territory, which Pope Stephen now claimed, and some of which he actually obtained as the price of his support of Desiderius. In view of the relations which afterwards existed between this man, the last of the Lombard kings, and the Papal See, it is strange to find him here spoken of as 'mildest of men,' and to remember that he was actually the favoured Roman candidate for the Lombard throne.

Ratchis throws up the game.

On receiving the document in which the promise and oath of Desiderius were contained, Stephen sent a letter of exhortation by the hands of the presbyter Stephen (one day to be himself Pope) to the monk-king at Pavia. The indefatigable Fulrad hastened

[1] Codex Carolinus, Ep. 11. [2] Abbé Duchesne, i. 461.

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with a detachment of Frankish soldiers to the help of Desiderius, who could also reckon on a contingent from the army of the *Ducatus Romae*. Ratchis saw that the scale was too heavily weighted against him. He could not fight the Franks, the Pope, and the Lombard duke of Tuscany all at once. He descended from his lately mounted throne, returned to Monte Cassino, and died there, when or how we know not. All that we know is that he, like so many other renowned sons of Benedict, lies buried on that famous hill[1].

Monks who had followed Carloman to be pardoned.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that in the just quoted letter of Pope Stephen, the last that he wrote to his Frankish patron, there is a plea for pardon to the monks who had accompanied Carloman in his journey to the Frankish Court. This plea, which is preferred at the request of their abbot Optatus, shows how heavy had been the hand of Pippin on all who were concerned in that ill-starred intervention[2].

Desiderius partially fulfils the compact.

The promise so solemnly sworn to by Desiderius was not altogether made void. Apparently before the abdication of Ratchis was complete, the urgent Pope sent his messengers to obtain the surrender of the promised cities. They returned bringing with them the keys of Faventia, Tiberiacum, and Cabellum (Faenza, Bagnicavallo, and Cavello), together with all the towns in the duchy of Ferrara. This accession of territory rounded off the Papal dominions in the north;

[1] Chronicon S. Benedicti, Pertz, iii. 200; Chronicon Mon. Casin., Pertz, vii. 584.

[2] 'Petiit nobis Obtatus religiosus abba venerandi monasterii sancti Benedicti pro monachis suis qui cum tuo germano profecti sunt ut eos absolvere jubeas' (Codex Carolinus, Ep. 11).

but the important cities of Imola, Bologna, and Ancona (with their neighbours Osimo and Umana) were still withheld by the Lombard king. BK. VIII. CH. 9. 757.

The letter in which Pope Stephen II announced to Pippin the accession of Desiderius described his friendly disposition towards the Roman See, and prayed the Frankish king to look favourably upon him, was one of the latest documents to which he set his hand. That letter seems to have been written in the month of March or April, and on the 26th of April, 757, he died. Many of his predecessors had been men of Greek nationality. In his five years' pontificate this essentially Roman Pope had done much to fasten down the great western Patriarchate to the soil of Italy. His is certainly one of the great epoch-making names in the list of bishops of Rome. As Leo the First had turned aside the terrible Hun and had triumphed over the Eastern theologians, as Gregory the Great had consolidated his spiritual dominion over Western Europe and rescued for it a great province from heathendom, so Stephen II won for himself and his successors the sovereignty over some of the fairest regions of Italy, gave a deadly blow to the hereditary Lombard enemy, and in fact if not in name began that long line of Pope-kings which ended in our own day in the person of the ninth Pius. Death of Stephen II, April 26, 757.

While Stephen was lying on his death-bed there was already hot debate going on in Rome as to his successor. A certain portion of 'the people of Rome' favoured the election of the Archdeacon Theophylact, and assembled daily in his house to discuss measures for his elevation. This party is called by some modern writers 'the Lombard,' by others 'the Imperial' Debates as to his successor. Theophylact.

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party. We have no evidence in support of either conjecture.

757. Paul, brother of the deceased Pope, chosen.

Another, and as it proved a more powerful section of the people, favoured the elevation of the deacon Paul, brother and chief counsellor of the dying pontiff. He, refusing to go forth into the City and court the suffrages of the electors, remained in the Lateran with a few faithful friends waiting upon his brother's death-bed. His fraternal piety was rewarded. After Stephen II had been solemnly entombed in the basilica of St. Peter, the adherents of Paul carried his election to the vacant throne, and the supporters of Theophylact dispersed, apparently without tumult.

We have already in the case of Silverius[1] seen the son of a Pope chosen for the papacy, though not in immediate succession to his father. Now brother follows close upon brother as wearer of the Roman mitre, almost the only instance of the kind that has occurred in the long annals of the papacy[2]. The choice in this instance seems to have been a good one, but it might have been a dangerous precedent. Considering the immense power which the Popes have wielded, it must be considered on the whole an evidence of statesmanship and courage on the part of the electors that mere family claims have so seldom determined the succession to the pontifical throne.

Character of Paul I.

Of the new Pope's character and personal history we know but little. A Roman of course by birth, like his brother, and like him brought up in the palace of

[1] Vol. iv. p. 93 (82).

[2] The only other case of brothers wearing the Papal tiara that has been brought to my notice is that of Benedict VIII (1012–1024) followed by his brother John XIX (1024–1033). But this was in the evil days of the Counts of Tusculum.

the Lateran, he was probably at this time still in middle life, since his ordination as deacon dated only from the days of Zacharias (741–752). What little we hear of his character seems to indicate a man of kindly temper, paying nightly visits to the cottages of his sick neighbours, or with his servants relieving the wants of the destitute: visiting the gaols also at night, and often setting free their inmates who were lying under sentence of death. Moreover, we are told, 'if by the injustice of his satellites he had caused temporary tribulation to any man, he took the earliest opportunity to bestow on such an one the comfort of his compassion.' Even these words of praise indicate already the characteristic defects as well as merits of a government by priests, but they are valuable as evidence that already the Pope exercised all the functions of a temporal sovereign in Rome, probably therefore also in the *Ducatus Romae* and the lately annexed Pentapolis.

The ten years of Paul's pontificate were an interval of peace between two political storms. He appears to have made it his chief aim to follow in all things the policy of 'my lord and brother of blessed memory, the most holy Pope Stephen[1]'; and his copious correspondence with Pippin enables us to trace the workings of this policy in relation to the Empire, the Lombards, and the Frankish kingdom. We will consider each subject separately.

Paul's relations with the Empire.

I. *The Empire.* Already in the last letter written by Pope Stephen II to Pippin we find a note of alarm sounded as to the hostility of the iconoclastic 'Greek'

[1] Cod. Car., Ep. 14.

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Emperor. 'And this,' says Stephen, 'we earnestly pray of your Exalted Goodness that you would order such measures to be taken with respect to the Greeks that the holy Catholic and Apostolic faith may through you remain whole and unshattered for ever.' This note becomes louder and more shrill throughout the correspondence of Paul, whose religious aversion to the image-breaking Emperor is mingled with his anxiety as a temporal ruler lest, either in conjunction with Desiderius or by his own unaided efforts, Constantine V should wrest from the Church its hardly-won dominions on the shore of the Adriatic.

Mission of George, Imperial secretary. Circa 758.

A certain George, an Imperial secretary, had been sent from Constantinople on a roving mission to the West, to win over Pippin if possible to the cause of iconoclasm, to effect an alliance if possible with Desiderius, to recover Ravenna and the Pentapolis if possible for the empire, but at any rate and by all means to counter-work the schemes of the bishop of Rome, doubly odious at Constantinople as the great defender of image-worship and the rebellious subject who had by Frankish help obtained possession of the best part of Imperial Italy and was now holding it in defiance of his lord. The influence of this secretary George on Western statesmen was profoundly dreaded by the pontiff. A letter, which is quoted only in abstract [1], contained 'lamentations and tribulations, because King Desiderius has been taking counsel with George the Imperial envoy, who has come hither on his way to Francia to the intent that the Emperor should send his army into Italy to wrest from us Ravenna and the Pentapolis and the City of Rome.' Desiderius

[1] Ep. 15.

has had 'private and nefarious conversations' with George at Naples for the same purpose. And lastly, in some mysterious way George has won over a certain presbyter Marinus to his 'unjust operations against the holy Church of God and the orthodox faith[1]': that is, no doubt, to the iconoclastic crusade. A short time before, this Marinus had been high in favour with both Pope and Frankish King. He had been 'our most dearly beloved and faithful presbyter,' to whom at Pippin's request Paul granted the *titulus* or parish church of St. Chrysogonus in the Trastevere at Rome[2]. Now he is under the severe displeasure of the Pope and has to undergo a singular punishment. 'Tell our brother bishop Wilchar,' writes Paul to Pippin, 'to consecrate presbyter Marinus bishop on our behalf. And order him to go and preside over some city in your dominions, which your most wise Excellency may decide upon, that he may there call to mind the wickedness which he has perpetrated and repent of his unrighteous deeds; lest otherwise the Devil should lay hold of his wandering mind and raise him aloft to dash him down into utter ruin[3].'

Affair of Presbyter Marinus.

More than once we find the Pope repeating to his powerful patron the alarming rumours which have reached him as to the designs of 'the most wicked Greeks[4].' 'Some of the most sincere subjects[5] of your

Rumours of a Greek invasion.

[1] Ep. 25.

[2] An honour equivalent to the cardinal's hat of later days.

[3] The letters relating to this affair of Marinus are among the most obscure in the Codex Carolinus. In a later letter (29) Paul seems to apologise to Pippin for having restored Marinus to his old dignity, and declares that he only did so on account of the tears and daily lamentations of his blind mother.

[4] 'Nefandissimi Graeci.' [5] 'Sincerissimi fideles.'

BK. VIII. CH. 9. 760. spiritual mother [the Roman Church] have intimated to us that six patricians, bringing with them three hundred ships, together with the navy of Sicily, have started from the Royal City [Constantinople] and are hastening to us here in Rome. What they want to do or for what cause they are being sent hither we are utterly ignorant. This only is told us, that they are directed to come first to us and afterwards to your Excellency in Francia[1].'

This letter appears to have sounded a vain alarm. The six patricians, it would seem, did not make their appearance in Rome, nor were their three hundred ships descried in the offing from Ostia: but a letter from Pippin, which was probably a reply to the foregoing, informed the Pope that he was ready for the help and defence of the Holy Church of God 'when the necessity for such help should arise[2]'; a gentle hint that it would be well not to harass a king, who had hard battles of his own to fight, with rumours of imaginary invasions.

Circa 763. About three years later (apparently) the rumour of a Byzantine invasion was revived, the tidings again coming from some of the faithful subjects of mother Church, probably some of the Roman party in Pentapolis or Ravenna[3]. Again, 'The *nefandissimi Graeci*, enemies of God's holy Church and assailants of the orthodox faith, in direct opposition to God's will, are longing to make a hostile attack on us and on the

[1] Ep. 20, written in 760 (after April).

[2] 'Vos paratos adesse in adjutorium et defensionem sanctae Dei ecclesiae *in quibus necessitas ingruerit*' (Ep. 21).

[3] Ep. 30: 'Missum a fidelibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae spiritalis matris vestrae'; a similar expression to that used in Ep. 20.

region of Ravenna.' So great is the alarm into which the Pope is thrown by these tidings that he is willing to accept even Lombard help for his deliverance. Pippin is besought to send an envoy to Desiderius at Pavia, to the Lombard dukes of Tuscany, of Benevento, of Spoleto, ordering them all to hasten to the assistance of the Pope. BK. VIII. CH. 9. 763 (?).

This too, however, was a vain alarm. The Emperor sent ambassadors, probably twice or thrice, to discuss the iconoclastic question with the Frankish king, to importune him for the restoration of the Exarchate, to wrangle with the Pope's envoys as to the wording of their master's letters[1], but no armed intervention of any kind was made by Constantine Copronymus in the affairs of Italy.

Domestic difficulties of Constantine V.

This exhibition of feebleness on the part of an Emperor of the strong Isaurian race, perhaps the toughest and most courageous of them all, may well surprise us till we look at the difficulties nearer home with which that Emperor had to contend. From 753 to 775 he was almost constantly at war with the Bulgarians, the near and still heathen neighbours of Thrace and Macedonia. Most of his campaigns were successful, but even a successful campaign imposed a great strain on his resources and those of his empire.

Nor did he altogether escape the fickleness of the fortune of war. In 759 he sustained a serious defeat

[1] Letters 35 and 36 describe these rather obscure altercations between the Papal and the Imperial *missi*. Apparently the Emperor was indignant at some plain-spoken words of the Pope in defence of the worship of images, and accused the Papal *primicerius* Christopher of having added this passage to the letter himself in mere presumption and impertinence, a charge which in his minister's behalf the Pope indignantly repudiates.

BK. VIII. CH. 9. 765. in one of the passes of the Balkans. In 765 a great naval armament, consisting of 2,600 transport ships, was wrecked in the Euxine, and all the crews perished. This disaster was followed by a conspiracy, in which some of the chief nobles of the Empire were engaged, and which even Constantine's own iconoclastic Patriarch of Constantinople[1] was suspected of having favoured.

The iconoclastic campaign. Throughout, the Emperor's fiercest fight was with his own subjects, and was caused by his remorseless, relentless vigour in giving effect to the iconoclastic policy of his father. In the year 753, two years after the Lombard conquest of Ravenna, a great synod was held at Constantinople which condemned the worship of images. The Bulgarian wars and other embarrassments prevented the immediate outbreak of persecution. It began however in full violence in 761, and from that time onwards Constantine, fiercely hated by a large party among his subjects, frantically cheered by another party (which included probably the strongest portion of his army), was pursuing, with all the energy of his soul, the ruin of the monks and bishops who yet clave to the worship of images. It was the monks who especially attracted the wrath of the Emperor, and out of whose ranks came the most celebrated martyrs to the cause of image-worship. Such an one was Andreas, who, having insulted the Emperor by calling him 'a new Julian, a new Valens,' was scourged through the Hippodrome, strangled, and cast into the Bosphorus. Such an one was Stephanus, who after spending thirty years in a cave in Bithynia and having afterwards become the abbot of a monastery of refugee monks, was forcibly removed from his

[1] Named Constantine.

cell and banished to the island of Proconnesus, then thrown into prison, and fed for eleven months on six ounces of bread weekly, and at last, with the connivance if not by the express orders of the Emperor, was pulled out of prison, dragged through the streets, hacked to pieces, and cast into the malefactors' burying-place[1].

It does not appear that there was much actual bloodshed in this iconoclastic persecution, but there was an insulting flippancy in the methods employed by Constantine V which made his tyranny harder to bear than that of more murderous persecutors. When he found it impossible to procure the adoption by the monks of the decrees of the Synod of 753, he turned them out of their monasteries, many of which he converted into barracks for his soldiers. Some of the expelled monks were compelled to walk up and down the Hippodrome, each holding the hand of a prostitute, amidst the jeers and spittings of the mob. The Patriarch Constantine, who as has been said fell under suspicion of being concerned in the conspiracy of the nobles and who had also grown cold in his iconoclastic zeal, was scourged so severely that he could not stand. He was then carried in a litter to St. Sophia, and compelled to listen to the reading of a long paper containing the history of his misdeeds, for each one of which he received a blow on the head from the reading secretary. Then, after the hair of his head, beard and eyebrows

[1] There is no doubt that Stephanus was a very active preacher of opposition to the Emperor's will if not of actual sedition. The words of Constantine, 'This monk will be Emperor and I shall be nothing in the Empire,' were seized upon by some of his guards, who accomplished the murder of Stephanus: a striking parallel to Henry the Second's hasty utterance of Becket's death-doom.

BK. VIII. CH. 9. had been shaven off, he was seated on an ass with his face to its tail, and exposed in that state to the insults of the populace in the Hippodrome. At last, after he had been compelled by all these cruelties to recant his condemnation of the iconoclastic synod, he was beheaded, and his truncated corpse was thrown into the pit of the suicides. This depth of degradation, into which imperial tyranny had hurled the second patriarchate of Christendom, is probably the best justification that can be offered for the Roman pontiff's eagerness to obtain the position of sovereignty, which, as he might think, could alone secure him from a similar downfall.

Character of Constantine V. For Constantine Copronymus himself, whatever may be our judgment upon the iconoclastic controversy, it is impossible not to feel loathing and abhorrence. Of course his cruelties have been exaggerated by the ecclesiastical historians whose voices alone have reached posterity: but after making every reasonable deduction on this account, it is impossible to doubt that he was deliberately, wantonly, and insultingly cruel. And moreover, his antagonism to the Church was not confined to the iconoclastic controversy. He seems to have been one of the earliest instances of that free-thinking tendency which was the result of the contact of Christianity and Islamism[1]. He spoke lightly of some of the names most venerated by Christians; he almost encouraged profanity in speech; his morals were undoubtedly licentious. A free-living as well

[1] And herein a distant forerunner of the Emperor Frederick II, to whose career that of Constantine presents some points of comparison, though it would be most unjust to the Swabian to bracket him with the Isaurian Emperor.

as free-thinking ruler, bringing a round of joyous revelries into the solemn old palace by the Bosphorus, he no doubt achieved a certain popularity both with his soldiers and with the mob: but this very looseness of faith and of morality must have made his religious persecution all the more exasperating. The intolerance of a narrow bigot is hard to bear, but the intolerance of a man who is himself devoid of faith is yet more intolerable.

Political severance between Rome and Constantinople.

This Emperor, Constantine V, and these two Popes, Stephen and Paul, mark the final severance of political relations between Rome and Constantinople, to be followed in the next century by the great and final rupture of ecclesiastical relations between them. The harsh and violent character of Constantine Copronymus had something to do with this result; the fact that Stephen and Paul were Romans, while their two immediate predecessors, Gregory III and Zacharias, had been Orientals (the first a Syrian, the second a Greek), had perhaps even more to do with it: but obviously the chief determining factor was the capture of Ravenna by Aistulf, and its surrender at the command of Pippin to the Papacy. The sceptre had thus obviously departed from Constantinople and been transferred to 'Francia.' For a few years the Popes continued as a matter of form to date their letters by the year of the Emperor reigning at Constantinople, but after 772 even that survival from the old days of dependence faded away[1]. Let us consider what this renunciation of dependence on the Eastern Augustus amounted to, for it gives a very peculiar character to the second half of the eighth century. From the time when bishops

[1] See Waitz, Verfassungs-Geschichte, iii. 89.

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were first consecrated in Rome, down to—let us say—726, there could be no doubt that the bishop of Rome was a subject; nor (with some possible reservation for the short interval of Ostrogothic domination) that he was the subject of a Roman Emperor reigning at Rome, at Milan, at Ravenna, or at Constantinople. From 726 to 800 the Pope was practically 'a masterless man,' the virtual ruler of the *Ducatus Romae*, and afterwards the acknowledged lord of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. From the year 800 down to the French Revolution, the Pope, however great might be his spiritual pretensions, was, as regarded his temporal dominions, included, theoretically or practically, in that great, mysterious, loosely-compacted organisation which was called the Holy Roman Empire. From the downfall of Napoleon to the seizure of Rome by Victor Emmanuel, a space of fifty-five years, the Pope-king was in theory as well as in practice an absolute monarch, owning no political superior however shadowy, as much a sovereign as the kings of France or Spain before the Great Revolution. Thus, from this point of view, the half-century between Waterloo and Sedan reproduced, as no intervening period had done, the half-century between Leo the Isaurian and Charles the Great.

Paul's relations with Desiderius.

II. *The Lombards.* We have next to consider the relations of Paul I with the new Lombard king, Desiderius. It need hardly be said that these relations soon became unfriendly, but they were scarcely interrupted by actual war. We have seen that Faenza and a little corner of territory round it were ceded to St. Peter. Further than that concession the gratitude of Desiderius for Papal help or his fear of the Papal

anathema never went. On the contrary, he soon bestirred himself for the restoration of the power of a Lombard king to the fulness of its privileges in the days of Liutprand, and in doing so inevitably came into collision with the 'justitiae' of St. Peter, and provoked the shrill outcry of the Pope.

The duchies of Spoleto and Benevento threaten to fall off from the Lombard realm.

In the last letter which Pope Stephen II wrote to Pippin (in March or April of 757), the letter in which he praised the excellent disposition of 'the mildest of men, Desiderius,' were written these words:—'Moreover the people[1] of the duchy of Spoleto, by the hands of St. Peter and your very strong arm, have appointed a duke for themselves. And both the Spoletans and the Beneventans all desire to commend themselves to your Excellency, preserved by God, and with panting breath are urgent to entreat your goodness.'

Here was indeed an important change threatened in the political map of Italy. True it is that the Spoletan and Beneventan duchies had often stirred uneasily and mutinously against the rule even of a strong king like Liutprand; but if the Pope's letter accurately described the situation, if they were 'commending' themselves to Pippin, that meant, in the already current language of feudalism, that the two dukes desired to place their hands in his and to swear themselves the men or vassals of the Frankish king. Possibly the Pope's language is not to be understood thus in the fulness of its technical import[2], but at any rate it was plain that the two southern duchies, separated as they now were from the northern kingdom by a

[1] 'Spolaetini ducatus generalitas' (Ep. 11).

[2] So thinks Waitz, Verf.-Gesch. iii. 90.

BK. VIII. CH. 9. continuous stretch of Papal territory, were in great danger of being lost to the Lombard state.

757. We must turn back for a few moments to consider what events had been occurring in these two duchies since the year 744. The fortunes of the Spoletan duchy during the years immediately following the death of King Liutprand are very obscure. From 745 to 751 Duke Lupus, known chiefly by his grants to the monastery of Farfa, seems to have reigned in the Umbrian duchy. After his death Aistulf perhaps took the duchy into his own hands, unless room has to be found for a certain Duke Unulf, who is doubtfully reported to have reigned for a few years[1]. Apparently about this time the people of Spoleto took advantage of the troubles at Pavia following the death of Aistulf to choose for themselves a new duke, who (as we learn from a letter of Pope Paul[2]) bore the great name of Alboin, and, as we have seen, they sought to secure their new independence of Pavia by placing themselves under the protection of Pippin.

Spoletan dukes.

Lupus, 745–751.

Unulf (?).

Alboin.

In Benevento, Gisulf II, who had been installed as duke by his great-uncle Liutprand[3], died in 751, in the prime of life, leaving a son, named Liutprand after his great kinsman, to inherit his dignity. For the young duke, who was probably but a child at the time of his father's death, his mother Scauniperga for some years acted as regent, but apparently before the year 757 Liutprand had assumed the reins of power. There are some indications that neither Aistulf nor Desiderius was heartily welcomed as king by the family of the great Liutprand; and possibly

Beneventan dukes.

Gisulf II.

Liutprand, 751–757.

[1] See I Duchi di Spoleto per A. Sansi, p. 55.

[2] Ep. 17.

[3] See vol. vi. pp. 471–2.

some especial dissatisfaction at the exaltation of the latter nobleman to the throne may have led the young duke and his counsellors to venture on the treasonable course of 'commending' themselves to the Frankish king. However this may be—and our information as to these two Lombard duchies is extremely meagre—it was soon clear that the new king had both the will and the power to compel their unwilling allegiance. Desiderius assembled his army, marched through the Pentapolis, probably not sparing its harvests[1], and reached Spoleto in his victorious course. Here he arrested the new duke, Alboin, with his chief nobles, and threw them into prison[2]. He drew near to Benevento: the young duke did not dare to await his attack, but fled to Otranto[3], along with his foster-father[4] John. Unable to invest that sea-coast town without a fleet, Desiderius proceeded to Naples, and there concerted measures with the Imperial envoy George for the reduction of Otranto and—so the Pope was told—for the recovery of Ravenna. The Sicilian navy was to undertake the blockade of Otranto; the Lombards were to invest it on the land side; the young prince and his governor were to be handed over to Desiderius, but the city if captured was probably to be restored to the officers of the Emperor[5].

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Desiderius crushes the revolt of Spoleto and Benevente, 757.

[1] The Pope accuses him of having 'wasted with fire and sword all the crops and everything which pertains to the service of man' (Ep. 17).

[2] 'After inflicting upon them grievous wounds,' says the Pope (Ibid.).

[3] 'Fugam arripuit in Otorantinam civitatem' (Ibid.). It is interesting to see the name Hydruntum already assuming its modern form.

[4] 'Nutritor.'

[5] This last stipulation is not mentioned by the Pope, but is

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Arichis, duke of Benevento, marries Adelperga, daughter of Desiderius.

How far this programme was carried into execution and what became of young Liutprand we know not. At this point he disappears from history, and his place is taken by a certain Arichis[1], whom Desiderius installed in the duchy of Benevento, and to whom he gave his daughter Adelperga to wife. The names of both husband and wife, but that of the latter especially, will often recur in the later chapters of this history.

Gisulf, duke of Spoleto, 759-761.

As for Spoleto, Desiderius seems for a year or two to have retained it in his own hands, but in April, 759, he invested Gisulf with the ducal dignity[2].

Desiderius at Rome.

After this triumphant campaign Desiderius visited Rome. He came apparently not as a warrior but as a guest and a pilgrim, to pay his devotions at the tombs of the Apostles. He had, however, set his heart on obtaining the restitution of the hostages at the Frankish court (probably those who had been given by Aistulf at the end of the war of 756), and he hoped to accomplish this by the Pope's mediation. The price which he offered was the addition—or as the Pope called it the restitution—to the Papal territory of Imola[3], the next town westward on the great Emilian way after the recently acquired Faenza.

suggested by Isernia (Istoria della Città di Benevento, p. 135), and seems likely enough. It is probable that Otranto had ceased to be Imperial, and become Beneventan, shortly before these transactions. Modify therefore the statement in vol. vi. p. 517.

[1] Paul I calls him Argis.

[2] See Oelsner's Pippin, p. 442, for the chronology of the dukes of Spoleto.

[3] This town, ten miles from Faenza and twenty-three from Bologna, was known in classical times as Forum Cornelii, deriving its name apparently from the dictator Cornelius Sulla. Paulus Diaconus (H. L. ii. 18) calls it 'Cornelii Forum cujus castrum Imolas appellatur.' In later times it has been chiefly celebrated

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The result of this interview between Pope and Lombard King was seen in two remarkable letters despatched by the hands of one Frankish and two Papal emissaries [1] to the court of Pippin.

757. Paul's letters to Pippin about the Lombard hostages.

In one letter [2], the Pope, after thanking God for having raised to the pontificate one so humble as himself, and quoting the words of the Psalmist, 'I will take the cup of salvation and will call upon the name of the Lord,' alludes to the blessing pronounced on the peacemakers, and then continues: 'Let your most excellent Goodness know that our most excellent son, King Desiderius, has arrived at the threshold of the Apostles, peacefully and with great humility, and that with him we have held discourse which will be salutary to both of us. He has promised to restore to us the city of Imola: on this condition however, that we should send our *missi* to your Excellency, and that [by their mediation] he should receive back the hostages whom as it seems you have still with you, and that you should consent to confirm with him the peace [which was ratified with his predecessor]. Wherefore we pray you to restore those hostages to our aforesaid son Desiderius, to confirm your treaty of peace with him, and to correspond with him on terms of cordial friendship: so that, by the favour of God, His people of both nations may in your joyful times dwell in peace and great safety, and that Almighty God

as the home of Caterina Sforza, 'Madonna d'Imola,' whose story has been so well told by Count Pasolini ('Caterina Sforza': Roma, 1893).

[1] The Frankish *missus* returning to his master was Ruodbert: the two Papal *missi* were George, bishop of Ostia, and Stephen, priest of St. Caecilia, afterwards Pope Stephen III.

[2] Ep. 16.

BK. VIII. CH. 9. may grant you a long life on the throne of your kingdom.'

757. So ran one letter, borne by Ruodbert, George and Stephen. The second[1] was not like unto it. Therein the Pope details at considerable length the 'impious and cruel' deeds which have been perpetrated by Desiderius in the course of the campaign just described, and the 'nefarious' negotiations which he has been conducting with the Emperor's ambassador at Naples. After the conquest, or as the Pope calls it the 'dissolution' of the two duchies, he has come to Rome, and there 'we have besought and exhorted him by the most holy body of St. Peter and by your God-protected Excellency to restore to us the cities of Imola, Bologna, Osimo and Ancona, as he once promised to do in our presence and that of your *missi* Ruodbert and Fulrad. But he was not at all inclined to assent to this. He shuffled like the trickster which he certainly is, and made several suggestions, as for instance that if he could recover his hostages who appear to be there in Francia he would then enter into relations of peace and concord with us.

'We have longed greatly to write to you, but could not do so on account of the Lombards hemming us in on every side. In fact we did privately, by the greatest exertion, send you two apostolic letters, which we fear may have been intercepted by them. It is for this reason that we now by the aforesaid *missi* send you another letter, written as if in compliance with the will of King Desiderius, desiring you to release his hostages and confirm the peace with him.

[1] Ep. 17.

But, O good and most excellent king, our spiritual kinsman[1], we so penned that letter solely in order that our messengers might be able to get through into Francia, since if we had not done so they would have had no chance of passing the Lombard frontier. But when you receive that letter do not pay any heed to its contents, and on no account consent to restore the said hostages to the Lombard party. Rather we adjure you to order the strongest pressure to be put upon Desiderius and the Lombard nation, so that he may restore those cities which he promised to your honey-flowing Excellency, and through you to your protector St. Peter. For as to none of the things which he promised at the outset of his reign have we been able to come to a firm agreement with him.'

757.

These two interesting but contradictory letters slumber side by side in the pages of the Codex Carolinus, as they once slumbered in the Frankish archives; but it is one of the tantalising results of this one-sided correspondence that we do not know what answer Pippin made, nor with which of them he complied. The whole tenour of the letters, however, shows that he was determined not to undertake another Italian campaign, if it were possible to avoid it, having already wars and fightings enough on his hands on the other side of the Alps. Had Desiderius indeed attempted to wrest the already surrendered cities out of the hands of St. Peter, Pippin might have been bound in honour to interfere, but if only the *status quo* could be maintained, he did not feel himself called upon to take up arms for the further enlargement of the Church's territory. Thus in a letter[2],

[1] 'Spiritalis compater.'

[2] Ep. 39.

BK. VIII. CH. 9. 757. of which it is much to be regretted that we cannot determine the date, the Pope acknowledges that Pippin has recommended him to live in peace and love with Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and actually proceeds thus, 'Now if that *most excellent* man shall be willing to remain in that true love and fidelity which he hath promised to your Excellency and the Holy Church of Rome, we too will remain in firm charity and stable peace with him, observing that injunction of the Lord, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."'

Peace patched up between Paul and Desiderius.

These pacific counsels of the Frankish king and his obvious reluctance to draw the sword a third time on behalf of St. Peter, seem to have produced the desired effect, and Desiderius, if not harassed with entreaties to restore the remaining cities of the Pentapolis and Aemilia, appears to have been willing to remain at peace with Rome. There was indeed one interruption to this peace in 761, when he made an attack on Sinigaglia and sacked a city of Campania[1], but this does not seem to have been a long or serious campaign. On the whole, one would say from a perusal of the correspondence that there was something like a gradual reconciliation between Paul and Desiderius. The increasing bitterness of feeling between the Eastern and Western Churches perhaps contributed to this result, the *nefandissimi Graeci* having now taken the place of the *nefandissimi Langobardi* as chief enemies of God and His Church.

In one letter the Pope says to Pippin: 'You tell

[1] 'Similiter et in partes Campaniae id est castro nostro qui vocatur Valentis hostiliter inruentes, talia sicut paganae gentes egerunt' (Ep. 21). I cannot identify Castra Valentis.

us that you directed Desiderius to return to us our runaway slave Saxulus. But I ought to tell you that Desiderius came here himself to pray at the tombs of the Apostles, and that he brought Saxulus with him and restored him to us. At the same time we arranged with Desiderius that he and our *missi* should make a tour through the various cities and there settle our claims. This has now been satisfactorily accomplished for Benevento, Tuscany, and partly for Spoleto. In a postscript you told us that you had admonished Desiderius to constrain the men of Naples and Gaeta to restore the patrimonies of St. Peter situated at Naples, and to allow their bishops-elect to come hither for consecration. We thank you for this[1].

Everything seems to show that by the end of Paul's pontificate a *modus vivendi* had been arrived at between the Lombards and the Roman pontiffs.

Paul's relations with Pippin.

III. *The Frankish Kingdom.* The relations of Pope Paul with the Frankish king, as disclosed to us by the Codex Carolinus, consist chiefly of a lavish outpouring of spiritual compliments, of an exhibition of that gratitude which is 'a lively sense of favours to come,' and of frequent entreaties for help which never arrives. Not once nor twice, but in almost every letter, and often many times in a letter, Pippin and his boyish sons (who are always coupled with him) are reminded that St. Peter has anointed them to be kings. Pippin is the new Moses, the new David, a man specially protected by God, who has laid up for himself infinite treasures in the starry citadels, where neither moth

[1] Ep. 37.

BK. VIII. CH. 9. nor rust doth corrupt the treasures prepared for the righteous[1]. 'The name of your Excellency,' says the enthusiastic pontiff, 'sparkles on the book of life in the sight of God[2].' 'No tongue can express the thanks which the holy Church of God and the Roman people owe to your Excellency for all the benefits conferred upon them. None of this world's rewards can be an adequate remuneration. There is but the one only God, consisting in three substances, who can fittingly reward your Excellency with the joys of the heavenly kingdom[3].' 'Pray continue steadfast in that good work of our protection which you have begun. Right well has your Christian Excellency perceived how great is the impious malice of the heretical Greeks, who are eagerly plotting to humble and trample down the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church and destroy the holy orthodox faith and the tradition of the holy fathers. Do you manfully resist these impious heretics. Our strength is in your arm, and we will say, "O Lord! save the most Christian king Pippin, whom Thou hast ordered to be anointed with holy oil by the hands of Thine Apostle, and hear him in the day when he calleth upon Thee[4]."'

The glory of the pious king is reflected upon his faithful people. In an ecstatic psalm of thanksgiving addressed 'To the Bishops, Presbyters, Abbots, Monks, Dukes, Counts, and to the whole muster of the army of the Franks, God-protected and Christ-beloved,' the Pope thus salutes them: 'You, dearest ones, are

[1] Epp. 33, 37, 38, 42.

[2] Ep. 32.

[3] 'Verumtamen est unus solus et verus in tribus substantiis consistens Deus qui justa caelestis regni gaudia . . . inpertire et retribuere excellentiae vestrae potest' (Ep. 22).

[4] Ep. 32.

a holy nation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people, whom the Lord God of Israel hath blessed: therefore joy and exult because your names and the names of your kings are exalted in heaven, and great is your reward in the sight of God and His angels. For Peter is your protector, the Prince of the Apostles to whom our Redeemer has granted the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth[1].'

Mutual presents of Pope and King.

As the *missi* went backwards and forwards between Rome and the Frankish *villa*, they generally bore with them some costly present, an emblem of the friendship which united Pope and King. A table (perhaps inlaid with precious stones) had been presented by Pippin to Stephen II, 'and through him to St. Peter.' 'This table,' says Paul[2], 'we brought in with hymns and spiritual songs to the hall of that chief of Apostles, and laid it on your behalf on the shrine[3] of that door-keeper of the kingdom of heaven. Then we anointed it and placed upon it the sacred oblation, which we offered up for the eternal welfare of your soul and the stability of your kingdom, laying our apostolic censure and anathema on any one who should dare to remove it from thence. In that same apostolic hall, therefore, it will remain for ever, as a memorial of you, and be sure that you will receive a fitting reward from God and St. Peter in the heavenly kingdom.'

Baptism of Gisila, 758.

After the baptism of Pippin's infant daughter Gisila (who was born in 757), the king sent to his venerable friend the napkin[4] which had been used in the ceremony. The Pope gladly accepted the offering, and

[1] Ep. 38.
[2] Ep. 21.
[3] 'Confessio.'
[4] 'Sabanum.'

BK. VIII. CH. 9. considered himself to be thereby constituted godfather of the royal child. From that time forward his favourite epithet for Pippin, one never absent from his letters, is 'spiritalis compater,' our spiritual co-father. 'With great joy,' he says, 'and accompanied by a whole cohort of the people, we received this napkin in the chapel where rests the holy body of the blessed Petronilla, the helper of life; which chapel is now dedicated to keep in eternal memory the praises of your name[1].' The story of the discovery of the body of Petronilla is told in the Liber Pontificalis, from which we learn that long before this time a marble sarcophagus had been discovered with these letters engraven upon it, AVREAE PETRONILLAE FILIAE DVLCISSIMAE[2]. It was not doubtful (thought the scholars of that day) that these letters had been carved by the hand of the Apostle Peter himself, to express his love for his 'sweetest daughter[3].' Pope Stephen II had erected a chapel in honour of Petronilla close to that of her uncle St. Andrew in the great basilica which bore the name of her father. The dedication of this chapel had been in some way connected with the name of Pippin, and its erection was regarded as a visible monument of the league of eternal friendship between the Pope and the Frankish King. One of the first acts of Paul I on his elevation to the papacy had been to transport the body of Petronilla on a new waggon to the home prepared for her by his brother, and

[1] 'Infra aulam sacrati corporis beatae auxiliatricis vitae.' Ep. 14.

[2] 'To my sweetest daughter, Aurea Petronilla.'

[3] Apparently it is now generally admitted that Petronilla is not derived from Petrus, but from Petronius, or possibly Flavius Petro.

thither, as I have said, he now in solemn procession bore the baptismal napkin of the infant Gisila [1].

The Pope's presents to the King.

The Pope on his part frequently accompanied his plaintive petitions for help with some ornament or cunningly-wrought article of apparel, which may perhaps have been designed in the old days of splendour before the barbarians came, and which, secure in the treasury of St. Peter, had escaped the soldiers of Alaric and Totila, or the yet more penetrating quest of the Byzantine logothete. 'I send you,' he says [2], 'by way of benediction, one *apallarea* [3], a sword set with jewels, with the belt belonging thereto, a ring holding a jacinth, a quilted mantle with peacocks' feathers embroidered upon it [4]. Which little blessing we beg that you may receive uninjured. To the lords Charles and Carloman, with our great apostolic blessing, we send a ring apiece containing jacinths.'

At another time the Pope sends 'to your Excellency such books [probably on certain subjects named by

[1] The connection between the Frankish nation and the chapel of St. Petronilla is apparently still maintained. 'To the present day the French ambassador, after presenting his credentials to the Pope, visits the chapel of St. Petronilla' (Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography, s. v. Petronilla).

[2] Ep. 17. This is the letter in which the Pope begs the King not to attend to the request conveyed in the sham letter about restoration of hostages.

[3] I do not find any satisfactory explanation of this word as here used. Ducange's translation, 'an egg-spoon,' seems to be all right as far as the classical use of the word is concerned, but will not suit either this passage or that in the Liber Pontificalis (i. 375, ed. Duchesne), where it is said that Pope Sergius dedicated a silver *apallarea* weighing 120 pounds.

[4] 'Storacin pallium unum habentem paones.' The meaning of *storacin* is doubtful, but in Lib. Pont. (Vita Sérgii) it seems to be used as equivalent to *plumacium*—a feather-lined pillow.

BK. VIII. CH. 9. the king] as we have been able to meet with; that is to say, a book of antiphons and responses, a grammar, a copy of Aristotle, a copy of Dionysius the Areopagite, a geometry, an orthography, and a grammar, all written in Greek, and also a clock for use at night[1].'

In this way the intercourse of rulers was helping forward the cause of civilisation, even when their own motives were not altogether pure or unselfish. Constantine Copronymus, harshly dissolute Emperor as he was, may rightly claim a high place in the musical history of Western Europe. No fewer than six of the chronicles add to their notices of the year 757 (the year of Paul I's accession) this naïve sentence: 'And the organ came into Frank-land[2].' They often differ strangely from one another as to the date of wars and councils, but this one date, that of the year when the deep voice of the organ was first heard in a Frankish cathedral, seems to have fixed itself indelibly in their remembrance. And from those, which may be called the state-chronicles, we learn the fact that this wonderful organ was one of many presents sent by the Emperor Constantine to the king of the Franks[3].

[1] 'Direximus itaque excellentissimae praecellentiae vestrae et libros, quantos reperire potuimus: id est antiphonale et responsale, insimul artem grammaticam, Aristolis (*sic*), Dionisii Ariopagitis, geometricam, orthografiam, grammaticam, omnes Graeco eloquio scriptas necnon et horologium nocturnum' (Ep. 24). The repetition of the word 'grammaticam' is not easy to understand, unless the first 'artem grammaticam' should be coupled with 'Aristolis.' One would like to hear more about the 'horologium nocturnum,' which was probably some sort of clepsydra with an illuminated face.

[2] 'Et venit organa (or organus) in Franciam.'

[3] 'Misit Constantinus imperator regi Pippino cum aliis donis

In the still rude and barbarously furnished *villa* of a Frankish prince it was not perhaps easy to find a suitable present to submit to the critical gaze of the courtiers of Rome or Constantinople. This was probably the cause of a letter (unfortunately known to us only by the reply) in which the young princes Charles and Carloman expressed to the Pope their regret that they had not sent him any present. 'By the same letter,' says the Pope in answer, 'you inform us that you are extremely ashamed that you have not been able to send us any gifts by the hands of your messengers who brought it. But why, sweetest and most loving sons, why, most victorious kings, should you yearn to gladden us with your gifts? We desire no other gifts than always to learn of your safety and prosperity, and to be able to congratulate you on your attainments, that is our enriching: your exaltation, that is the exaltation of God's holy Church: your defence of the orthodox faith; these are the best presents that we can receive.' BK. VIII. CH. 9.

And yet notwithstanding this lavish outpouring of sweet words, the deeds for which they were to be the payment were never done. During all the ten years of Paul's pontificate no Frankish warriors again threaded the passes of Mont Cenis in order to strike another blow for the 'justices' of St. Peter. To understand the causes of this negative result we must glance very briefly at the occupations and anxieties of the Frankish king during the same period.

In 758, the year when the first note of dissatisfaction with 'the meekest Desiderius' was sounded by Paul, The wars of Pippin:

organum qui in Franciam usque pervenit' (Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi).

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with Saxons; Pippin was engaged in a tough struggle with the Saxon tribesmen on his north-eastern frontier, making a breach in the rampart which they had cast up for the defence of their country, fighting many battles, slaying a great multitude of their warriors (probably not without severe loss among his own men), and at last reducing them to submission and to the promise of an annual tribute of three hundred horses.

with Saracens; In 759 Pippin achieved the important result of expelling the last Saracen invader from Gaul. The campaign was, it is true, not an arduous one. Having marched his troops to Narbonne and formed the siege of that city, he opened secret negotiations with the descendants of the Visigoths, who formed doubtless the bulk of its inhabitants. When they had obtained an assurance that if they became once more subjects of the Frankish king they should be allowed to live by their own national law and should not be compelled to come under the Salian or Ripuarian code, they agreed to Pippin's terms, slew the Saracen garrison, and opened the gates of their city to the Franks. Thus was ended the Moorish domination north of the Pyrenees. But though the campaign was not an arduous one, it may well have left Pippin little leisure for redressing the importunate and ever-growing claims of St. Peter[1].

with Waifar of Aquitaine. The next year, 760, saw the commencement of a struggle which, with little intermission, occupied Pippin's whole energies for the remaining nine years

[1] This Narbonese war is related in the Chronicon Moissiacense. It is very strange that so important an achievement should not be mentioned in the Annales Laurissenses or Einhardi.

of his life, which evidently brought him sometimes into serious danger, and which by its toils and anxieties probably shortened his days. This was the war with Waifar, duke of Aquitaine. That great region between the Loire, the Atlantic, and the Pyrenees, which had once belonged to the kingdom of the Visigoths and which became subject to the Franks in 507 (when the pious Clovis could no longer endure that the Arian heretics should possess so large a portion of Gaul), had probably never been so thoroughly incorporated with the Frankish monarchy as the rest of what we now call France, and had certainly of late yielded but an insecure and shadowy allegiance to the *fainéant* Merovingian kings. As we have already seen, Duke Eudo assumed an almost independent position in his wars and treaties with Charles Martel; and now his grandson, Duke Waifar, was probably unwilling to own himself the 'man' or vassal of one who had no royal blood in his veins. Doubtless if Francia was to become one coherent state, Aquitaine must be made to own the absolute sovereignty of the Arnulfing king: and it was upon the whole the greatest service which Pippin rendered to his country, that by severe toils, undertaken probably in failing health and amid many distracting cares, besides the piteous appeals of the Roman pontiff, he did succeed in accomplishing this great result.

The pretext—it may have been more than a mere pretext—for the war, was found in Waifar's refusal to restore to some churches under Pippin's special protection the property which belonged to them in Aquitaine. War was declared, and was carried on, probably with varying success, though the chroniclers record only Frankish victories, for the four years from 760 to

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Defection of Tassilo of Bavaria.

763. Then came a new and a threatening development of the struggle. Tassilo, sister's son to Pippin, now a young man of twenty-one years of age, who had for fifteen of those years held the dignity of duke of Bavaria, who had followed his uncle to the Italian war in 756, and had in the following year at Compiègne sworn tremendous oaths of fidelity on the holiest relics of the saints, now in the fourth year of the Aquitanic campaign flatly refused any longer to follow the Frankish standard, and falsely feigning sickness returned to his own country, from whence he sent a message that he would see his uncle's face no more. Thus did the young duke definitively renounce his allegiance to his Frankish overlord, and, what was a more outrageous offence in Teutonic eyes, by the time and manner of his defection he committed the unpardonable crime of *harisliz*, or desertion of his lord in the presence of an enemy. This act changed all the after-life of Tassilo, darkened its close, and exercised an important if indirect influence on the fortunes even of the Lombard people.

It is probable that Tassilo's defection caused the failure of the campaign of 763, and it is possible that Pippin himself may have been thereby brought into a situation of peril. If so, we may safely refer to this period two letters[1] from Pope Paul, in the first of which he expresses his anxiety for the king's safety, seeing that so long a time has elapsed since he heard news of him, and that gloomy tidings concerning him are arriving 'from your and our enemies'—who are probably the Greek iconoclasts.

In the second letter the Pope announces that he

[1] Epp. 27 and 28.

has heard from various pilgrims to the thresholds of the Apostles that the king has returned in safety to his home, tidings which fill his soul with joy and call forth his fervent thankfulness to God. BK. VIII. CH. 9.

In a letter written some years later the Pope informs Pippin of some faint overtures towards reconciliation which Tassilo desires him to communicate to his offended overlord; but nothing seems to have resulted from this mediation.

For two years Pippin remained in his own land pondering the situation, distracted by the double war which seemed opening out before him, and collecting his forces for either event. At length he decided, no doubt wisely, that the Aquitanic enterprise alone must be proceeded with, and that the chastisement of his rebellious nephew must for the present be postponed. The three years from 766 to 768 were devoted to the prosecution of the war, evidently with ever-increasing success. At length in the midsummer of 768 Waifar, who had been for many months wandering up and down in Perigord, a hunted fugitive, was slain, apparently by one of his own followers; and the war of Aquitaine was at an end.

Theological discussions occupied some of Pippin's leisure in the interval between these triumphant campaigns. In January, 767, the Byzantine ambassadors appeared before a synod of Frankish bishops which was convened at Gentilly near Paris. As described by the chroniclers, it was assembled to decide 'questions concerning the Holy Trinity and the worship of images.' The purely theological question was the everlasting argument between Easterns and Westerns as to 'the procession of the

Theological discussions. Synod of Gentilly, 767.

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Holy Spirit[1]' and the words 'Filioque' surreptitiously (said the Easterns) added to the Nicene confession of faith. It is suggested that this old grievance was brought up by the Byzantine envoys in order to counterbalance the iconoclastic innovations objected against them by the Latins[2]. The synod, however, appears to have dispersed without arriving at any harmonious conclusion—the predecessor of many equally fruitless discussions of a similar kind between the Eastern and Western Churches.

We read in the Codex Carolinus some letters[3] in which apparently the Pope, in expectation of the holding of this synod, speaks confidently of the result, and praises the unshaken firmness of Pippin in all his dealings with the shifty and heretical Greeks, but we have none expressing the satisfaction which he must certainly have felt if he heard the result. The chronicler informs us that after his victorious campaign of 767 Pippin sent his army into winter quarters and spent his own Christmas at Bourges, where he heard the tidings of the death of Paul the Roman Pope. The news must have travelled slowly, for the death of Paul the First actually took place on the 28th of June[4], 767. On account of the summer heats he had retired to the church of his namesake, S. Paolo Fuori le Mura. He was seized with sickness, and his death followed in a few days. His body, at first buried in

Death of Paul, June 28, 767.

[1] So says Oelsner (p. 404), no doubt rightly, but I cannot find the statement in the authority quoted by him (Chronicon Adonis, Pertz, ii. 319).

[2] See Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, iii. 432; quoting Pagi, ad ann. 766.

[3] Epp. 36 and (perhaps) 37.

[4] See Depos. Christoph. apud Duchesne (Lib. Pont. i. 480).

that basilica, was after an interval of three months transported by a multitude of Romans and foreigners, with psalms and hymns, to the regular resting-place of the Popes at St. Peter's. BK. VIII. CH. 9.

'And the bishopric of Rome lapsed for one year, one month [and ten days].' So writes the Papal biographer. That lapse of the episcopate is the Church's way of describing the wild scenes of faction and disorder which will form the subject of the next chapter.

NOTE D. ON THE OFFICERS OF THE PAPAL HOUSEHOLD.

THESE officers, who formed practically the ministry of the Pontifical State, are thus enumerated by a MS. of the twelfth century found in the Lateran and published by Mabillon (Museum Italicum, ii. 570). It is entitled 'Johannis Diaconi liber de ecclesiâ Lateranensi ad Alexandrum III pontificem,' and is quoted and commented upon by Savigny and Hegel [1].

'In the Roman Empire and in the Roman Church of to-day there are seven Palatine Judges, who are called *Ordinarii*, who ordain the Emperor [2], and with the Roman clergy elect the Pope. Their names are as follows:—

'I. *Primicerius*, } who receive their names from their offices
'II. *Secundicerius*, } themselves. These two, walling in the Emperor on the right hand and the left, seem in a certain way to reign with him: without them no decision of importance is taken by the Emperor [one of the MSS. reads here 'Pope']. Moreover, in the Roman Church in all processions they lead the Pope's palfrey [3], taking precedence of the bishops and other magnates.

'III. The third is the *Arcarius*, who presides over the tribute.

'IV. The fourth is the *Sacellarius*, who hands forth to the soldiers their pay, gives alms to the sick on the Sabbath day, and bestows upon the Roman bishops and clergy and persons in orders their *presbyteria* [stipends].

'V. The fifth is the *Protoscriniarius*, who presides over the *scriniarii* whom we call *tabelliones* [scriveners].

'VI. The sixth is the *Primus Defensor*, who presides over the *defensores*, whom we call advocates.

[1] Savigny, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter, i. 378–381, and Hegel, Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien, i. 245. The latter must surely be mistaken in assigning the MS. (which was dedicated to Alexander III) to the tenth century.

[2] 'Qui ordinant Imperatorem.'

[3] 'Manuatim ducunt Papam.'

'VII. The seventh is the *Adminiculator*, whose duty it is to intercede for orphans and widows, for the afflicted, and for captives. NOTE D.

'In criminal cases these men do not judge, nor do they pronounce a capital sentence on any man, and at Rome they are clerics who are never promoted to any other rank.

'But the other magistrates, who are called *Consuls*, conduct trials and punish those who are amenable to the laws, and pass sentence on the guilty according to the magnitude of their crimes.'

In the four centuries which elapsed between Paul I and Alexander III many changes may have taken place, but there seems reason to suppose that the officials here enumerated were to be found in Rome in the eighth century. I would suggest, however, a doubt whether they were necessarily all ecclesiastics at the period with which we are now dealing. Christopher and his son Sergius seem to me more like laymen than clerics.

As Hegel points out, the full title of the *Primicerius* and *Secundicerius* should include the addition *notariorum*; and they may be considered as the President and the Vice-President of the Papal Chancery.

The statement that they with the Roman clergy elected the Pope would of course not be true for the eighth century, in which there was still a semblance of popular election. Savigny, however, suggests that these seven *Judices Palatini* directing the election of the Pope may have furnished the type for the seven cardinal-bishops of a later day, and may even have had some influence on the selection of seven as the number of the Electors in the Holy Roman Empire.

CHAPTER X.

A PAPAL CHAOS.

Sources:—

In addition to our usual authority, the LIBER PONTIFICALIS, we have, for the events connected with the election of the anti-pope Constantine, the advantage of reading the deposition of one of the chief actors in the scene, the *primicerius* Christopher, before the Lateran Council (12th April, 769). This is of course *ex parte* evidence of the most thoroughly partisan kind, and must be read with the necessary allowances for distorted vision; but it agrees in the main with the (also *ex parte*) statements in the Liber Pontificalis. It is contained in an old codex of the ninth century which was found in the library of the Chapter at Verona and published by Cenni in 1735. It is reprinted in the notes to Duchesne's Liber Pontificalis (i. 480–481), from which I quote. I shall call it DEPOSITIO CHRISTOPHORI.

Discordant union of temporal and spiritual power.

THE death of Paul I brought out in strong relief the difficulties which result from clothing a religious leader with temporal power. The arguments in favour of that course are obvious, and have already been often referred to. The cruelties inflicted on Popes who dared to differ from the Eastern Augustus on questions of religious dogma, the transportation of Silverius to the desolate Palmaria[1], the attempt to drag Vigilius from the altar to which he clung for refuge[2], the

[1] Vol. iv. p. 255 (225). [2] Vol. iv. p. 672 (594).

death of the persecuted Martin at inhospitable Cherson, the attempts on the liberty of Sergius and on the life of the second Gregory[1], might not unreasonably suggest, even to an unambitious Roman pontiff, that if he was to be safe he must be also sovereign; nor can we deny that the happy device of interweaving the claims of St. Peter and his Vicar with those of the Holy Roman Republic seemed to offer a plausible means of obtaining this sovereignty without too obviously abandoning the position assumed by Christ when He said, 'My kingdom is not of this world.'

But, however the truth might be veiled by the festoons of pious rhetoric, the substantial fact remained that the bishop of Rome was now virtually king over the central City of the world, and over fair domains touching both the Tyrrhene and the Adriatic Seas; and this proud position naturally attracted the ambition of men for whom the spiritual prerogatives of the successor of St. Peter would have had no fascination. In later centuries this motive was to be made miserably manifest when the Papal See became for a time almost an appanage of the Counts of Tusculum. We have some faint presage of those evil days in the scenes which were now enacted before the bewildered gaze of the citizens of Rome.

Duke Toto of Nepi.

The little town of Nepi, about thirty miles from Rome, was, as we have already seen, one of the frontier towns of the *Ducatus Romae* looking towards Lombard Tuscany[2]. Here dwelt an ambitious citizen of doubtful nationality[3], named Toto, who had by means unknown

[1] Vol. vi. pp. 267, 358, 447.

[2] See vol. v. p. 354.

[3] The Liber Pontificalis calls him 'Toto quidam dux, Nepesinae civitatis dudum habitator.' The Depositio Christophori calls him

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to us acquired the dignity of dukedom. Conspiring with three of his brothers, named Constantine, Passivus and Paschalis, and with a troop of rustics, drawn apparently from both sides of the border and devoted to his will, this adventurer conceived the daring design of giving a Pope to Rome and of ruling the new Papal territory in his name.

Constantine, brother of Toto, elected Pope, June 28, 767;

Pope Paul was still lingering on his death-bed under the shadow of his namesake's great basilica when Toto, his brothers, and his accomplices appeared upon the scene. They intended—so we are told—to hasten events by cutting short the feeble thread of the pontiff's life, but were prevented by the *primicerius* Christopher, who invited them and the rest of the Roman nobility into his house and gave them 'strong and salutary' counsels as to abstinence from crime[1]. He even succeeded (so he averred) in inducing them and the heads of the opposite party to bind themselves by mutual oaths not to elect any Pope save from among the bishops, priests and deacons of the Roman Church, and not to introduce any of the suburban rustics into the City in order to carry the election. All this advice however was in vain, and the oaths solemnly taken

'quidam Nempesini oppidi ortus, Toto nomine.' Was he a Roman or a Lombard? The fact of his being a 'dweller in Nepi' (within the Roman frontier) looks like a Roman origin; the Teutonic name looks like a Lombard. The subsequent history will not decide the point, for both Romans and Lombards take part in his downfall. And of what was he duke? Hardly either of the Lombard 'Tuscia,' or of the Roman *Ducatus Romae*. I am inclined to conjecture that he was a Roman citizen, and that the title Dux in the disorganised condition of affairs was given to some persons, Toto for instance, and Gregorius 'habitator Campaniae,' who had no strict right to it.

[1] All this is from the Depositio Christophori.

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were only so many perjuries. Scarcely had Paul I sighed out his latest breath, when Toto and his brothers with a horde of rustics from the towns of Tuscany rushed into the City through the Gate of St. Pancratius on the Janiculan height, held a tumultuary election in the house of Toto (who seems to have possessed a palace within the walls of Rome), and chose as Pope, Constantine the layman, the brother of the invading chief.

And consecrated by George, bishop of Praeneste.

This tumultuary election took place apparently on the evening of Sunday, the 28th[1] of June, 767, and was followed by the march of Toto, his brothers and his rustics to the Lateran palace of the Patriarchate, where George, bishop of Praeneste, was ordered to admit the new Pope to the minor orders, which were so to speak the threshold of the ecclesiastical state[2]. The bishop at first refused, cast himself at the feet of Constantine, and begged him by the holy mysteries to cease from his presumptuous attempt and forbear from introducing such an unheard-of innovation into the Church of God. But the rough men who had just taken part in the election in Toto's palace gathered round him, and with fierce threats ordered him to do as he was bid. Terrified, the bishop consented, and ordained Constantine, who, now a cleric, stalked in and seated himself in the patriarchal chair[3].

When Monday dawned the same unfortunate bishop

[1] Dep. Christ., as corrected by Duchesne, i. 480.

[2] 'Conpulerunt eum orationem clericatus eidem Constantino tribui' (Lib. Pont. i. 468). As he was not to receive the subdiaconate till the next day, I presume this *clericatus* must mean the orders of doorkeeper and reader which came next below.

[3] 'Eundem sanctum Lateranensem invasit patriarchium.' I have introduced here a slight element of conjecture.

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George, who had now no choice but to cast in his lot with the usurper, admitted Constantine to the successive degrees of subdeacon and deacon in the oratory of St. Laurence at the Lateran—otherwise called the Sancta Sanctorum—and presented him to the people to receive their oath of obedience. On the following Sunday, Constantine proceeded through the streets of Rome with his usual train of armed men (doubtless marshalled by his truculent brothers), entered the great basilica of St. Peter, and was there consecrated Pope by George of Praeneste and two other bishops, Eustratius of Albano and Citonatus of Porto.

The elevation of Constantine to the pontificate was certainly irregular, for though there had been many instances (notably the case of the great Ambrose of Milan) in which laymen had been suddenly raised to the presidency of other sees, in Rome the practice was so rare as to be almost unknown, and the Pope, by a rule which had not been broken for more than two centuries, ought to be chosen from the ranks of either the deacons or the presbyters[1]. But however manifest the irregularity of the whole proceeding, the necessary formalities had been in some fashion complied with. There had been a popular election, the candidate had passed through the ecclesiastical grades up to that of deacon (higher rank in the Church was not necessary), had been consecrated Pope by three bishops of the Roman Church, and could now sit in the chair of St. Peter and call himself 'Servant of all the servants of God.' He did in fact for thirteen months preside

[1] The only exceptions to the rule, according to Duchesne (L. P. i. 481), were Fabianus (236–250) and Silverius (536–537).

over the Apostolic See, though he is not reckoned in the number of the pontiffs, nor is his face to be found in the long series which gaze down upon the beholder from the walls of the great church of St. Paul's Without the Gates.

Opposition of the *primicerius* Christopher and his son Sergius,

Early tidings of these strange proceedings were brought by a notary named Constantine to his official chief Christopher, who as *Primicerius Notariorum* should in due course have presided over the election and formed one of the board of three[1] which should have ruled Rome during the vacancy of the Holy See. Terrible were the threats of which Constantine the notary was the bearer from his namesake unless Christopher would assist in making him Pope. This however he steadfastly refused to do, betaking himself instead to tears and prayers to Almighty God for the preservation of His Church from the impending scandal.

and of Duke Gregory.

A certain Duke Gregory, a dweller in Campania, who probably attempted to resist the usurping Pope by force of arms, was put to death, and Christopher hearing that his own death also was decreed took refuge with his sons in the church of St. Peter. He was at last induced to emerge from his place of refuge on receiving from Pope Constantine a solemn assurance, confirmed by an oath before St. Peter's tomb, that he and his sons should be allowed to dwell peaceably in their homes till the approaching Easter-tide[2]. After that he was to be allowed to retire with his son

[1] The other two members of the board were the Arch-presbyter and the Arch-deacon (Duchesne, i. 148).

[2] Probably therefore all these negotiations had occupied the remainder of 767 and brought the affair down to the early months of 768. The Depositio breaks off here.

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Constantine's letters to Pippin.

Sergius to the monastery of the Saviour near Rieti, in the district of Spoleto.

Meanwhile the new Pope had addressed two letters of the orthodox pattern set him by his predecessor, to 'his dear son Pippin, king of the Franks and patrician of the Romans.' The ordinary phrases about the starry realms, the honey-flowing Excellency of the Frankish king, his God-protected kingdom, the duty which he owes to his protector St. Peter, and so forth, flow from the pen of this suddenly-exalted layman as smoothly as from that of the 'child of the Lateran' who preceded him. Many no doubt of these sentences were 'common forms' which would be supplied by any of the clerks in the Papal chancery to his employer. The solecisms in grammar and spelling, even more outrageous and more frequent than those which we meet with in the letters of Pope Paùl, suggest the idea of a pattern set by such a clerk and imperfectly copied by an illiterate rustic [1]. The allusions, however, to the circumstances of his own elevation to the pontificate are peculiar, and if there be any truth in the account of the matter given by the Liber Pontificalis, are audacious :—

'We expect you have already heard that our predecessor Paul, of blessed memory, has by the call of God been withdrawn from the light of day, and that the inhabitants of this City and of the surrounding towns have chosen my Unhappiness to preside over them as their pastor.'

[1] Take for instance 'quod neqtaquam penitus obtabam nec mea exiebat merita' (Ep. 44); 'flecso poblite deprecor precellentiam vestram' (Ibid.); 'et ob oc tanquam praesentaliter coram mellifluo regali vestro aspectu consistens' (Ep. 45), and so on.

The allusion to the share which 'surrounding towns' have had in the election is a slight tribute to veracity. BK. VIII. CH. 10.

'When I seriously consider with myself what are the duties of the office into which I have crept [1], in respect of tending the rational sheep of the Lord, I must confess that unbearable sadness fills my secret soul.' (The 'office into which I have crept' sounds like a very candid confession of the truth, but is probably due to the new Pope's ignorance of the meaning of the words, which some crafty clerk dictated for his adoption.) 'But I who am greatly weighed down and perceive that by no virtues or attainments of my own have I been advanced to this dignity, conclude that the Divine compassion working on the hearts of the people has brought about this result: and therefore, like one awakened from a heavy sleep, I perceive with stupefaction and ecstasy that an honour has been conferred upon me which I never desired, which I never even thought of, and to which my little faint heart never aspired. For suddenly being seized by the violent hands of an innumerable multitude of people who all agreed in this thing, I was borne as it were by a mighty blast of wind up to the great and awful height of this pontificate. . . . Oh, how great and fearful a thing art thou, the responsibility of the pastor! And how can I, unhappy one, fulfil the onerous duty of the cure of souls!' 767.

The Pope then goes on to make a short confession of faith in order to show his absolute orthodoxy. He alludes to Christ's converse with sinners, and (with some dexterity) to the call of Matthew the publican from the

[1] 'Quanta mihi *inrepti* pastoralis officii debet insistere curandas fruendasque dominicas rationales oves' (Ep. 45).

BK. VIII. CH. 10. 767. tax-gatherer's table, and he announces the arrival of a presbyter from Jerusalem bringing the patriarch Theodore's synodical letter addressed to the late pontiff Paul, from which it is clear that the patriarchal thrones of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, all agree with that of Rome in upholding the worship of images. Upon the whole this rustic brother of Duke Toto plays his part so well and imitates so admirably the language of his predecessor—the rough Esau this time counterfeiting the bland voice of the peaceful Jacob—that one almost expects to see that he will succeed in carrying off the Church's blessing.

Christopher and Sergius call in the Lombards. 768.

That consummation was prevented by the energy of the two men, Christopher and Sergius, father and son, who had held the two highest offices in the Papal chancery[1], and who, whether from personal ambition or from honest loyalty to the traditions of the See, were determined that Constantine's usurpation of the papacy should not be legitimatised by success. We have seen that they obtained leave to retire to a monastery near Rieti after Easter, 768. The Papal biographer, who has his own reasons for disliking the two men, though he approves their deed, says that they feigned the desire to become monks, and swore that they would assume the monastic habit, in order to obtain from Constantine the required permission to depart from Rome[2]. Instead of resorting to the convent of the Saviour at Rieti, where the abbot was waiting to receive them, they made their way to

[1] 'Primicerius' and 'Secundicerius.'

[2] It will be seen that there is a slightly different colour given to this negotiation in the Liber Pontificalis from that which it assumes in the Depositio.

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Spoleto and besought the Duke Theodicius[1] to escort them across the river Po to the court of Desiderius. He did so, and the two ministers having been admitted to the presence of the Lombard king, earnestly besought him to lend his aid 'that the error of such a novelty might be cut off from the Church of God.'

Christopher and Sergius, aided by the Duke of Spoleto, attack Constantine

Desiderius appears to have authorised his tributary the Duke of Spoleto to interfere in the Roman troubles, but not to have sent any troops of his own for that purpose. Probably the power of this suburban 'Duke' Toto was inconsiderable, and no great display of force was needed to crush him. In fact, the only persons of whom we hear as sharing in the invasion of Rome are the inhabitants of Rieti and Furcona, two insignificant towns in the Apennine highlands belonging to the duchy of Spoleto. Under the command of Sergius and a certain presbyter Waldipert, who probably came as envoy from the Lombard king to control the impending revolution, the rustic army marched suddenly on Rome by the Via Salara, and reached the bridge over the Anio at twilight on the 29th of July (768)[2]. Next day they crossed the Ponte Molle, and worked round on the north and north-west of Rome, first to the Gate of St. Peter's and then to the Gate of St. Pancratius. Some relations of Christopher opened the gate to his son, and there the Lombards

[1] There seems to have been an interregnum of one or two years after the death (or deposition) of Gisulf, Duke of Spoleto, (761 ?). In September, 762, or March, 763, Duke Theodicius was already reigning there, the leal friend and tributary of Desiderius (Oelsner, 443).

[2] The Papal biographer, in ecclesiastical fashion, adds that this was the vigil of the blessed martyrs Abdon and Sennen, two Persians who are said to have suffered for the faith in the persecution of Decius (250).

BK. VIII. CH. 10. 768. stood on the Janiculum, near the site of the present church of S. Pietro in Montorio, overlooking the outspread City. They displayed the Lombard banner, but 'stood trembling on the walls, fearing the Roman people, and not daring to descend.' So says the Papal writer, but it is more probable that Sergius and Waldipert, knowing that they had friends in the enemy's camp, determined to avoid the odium of a victory won by the swords of the Lombards, and preferred to wait for the course of events. Duke Toto with his brother Passivus mounted up to the gate, having in their train two of the ministers of the Papal household, Demetrius[1] and Gratiosus[2], whom they believed to be their friends, but who were secretly in league with the assailants[3]. One of the Lombards named Racipert rushed upon Toto, but was stoutly resisted, and met his own death from Toto's weapon. The Lombards wavered, and were in act to flee, when Secundus and Gratiosus attacked Toto from behind with their lances and slew him. Thereupon Passivus rushed across the City to the Lateran palace and told his brother the Pope what things were being done on the Janiculan hill[4]. Then Constantine and Passivus, with the bishop Theodore, the Pope's delegate[5], hastened to the great basilica,

Toto slain.

[1] 'Secundicerius' (the office which had been held by Sergius).

[2] 'Chartularius': afterwards a 'duke.'

[3] 'Cum praefatis nefandissimis proditoribus' says the biographer, who, as Duchesne points out, is in a ludicrous dilemma between his approval of the overthrow of Constantine and his hatred of the Lombards by whom it was effected.

[4] We hear nothing in this encounter about the third brother Paschalis.

[5] 'Vice-dominus.' This minister acted as a sort of steward for the Pope, and had especial superintendence of the Lateran palace.

of the Lateran, and fled from chapel to chapel[1] seeking some inviolable refuge. In vain: after they had undergone some hours of suspense the officers of the Roman militia came and dragged them forth from the oratory of St. Caesarius and put them in ward, perhaps in one of the dungeons of the palace.

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Constantine made prisoner.

On the next day, which was a Sunday, Waldipert, without consulting his confederate Sergius, gathered together a number of Roman citizens, proceeded to the monastery of St. Vitus[2], and invited forth from thence a certain priest named Philip[3], whom the crowd greeted with the acclamation, 'St. Peter has chosen Philip, Pope.' They then led him in state to the Lateran basilica: a bishop offered the customary prayer; the new Pope bestowed his blessing on the people from the balcony of the church[4], and entered the palace of the pontiffs. Here he sat at the head of a banqueting company, among whom were some of the great ecclesiastical dignitaries and officers of the Roman *militia*.

Attempt to elect Philip Pope, July 31.

But Philip, who was doubtless looked upon by the Lombard faction in the City as one of their own partisans, was, though a priest, not one of the regular parish-priests of Rome, and his election therefore, though not as irregular as that of Constantine, was

Christopher annuls the election of Philip.

[1] First to the oratory of St. Venantius (still existing on the north-west of the basilica), then through the *vestiarium* to the oratory of St. Caesarius. These two sites cannot now be identified (Duchesne, i. 481).

[2] On the Esquiline, near the Arch of Gallienus (Duchesne, ibid.).

[3] This is perhaps the same 'presbyter Philip' who was sent by Paul I on a mission to Charles and Carloman about 765 (Cod. Car., Ep. 36, p. 127).

[4] This is not expressly stated in the Liber Pontificalis.

BK. VIII. CH. 10. 768. contrary to the established custom of the Roman Church. As soon as Christopher (who had apparently travelled more slowly than his son) appeared upon the scene and was informed of Philip's election, he waited outside the gates of the City, and swore with a great oath in presence of the assembled Romans that till Philip was expelled from the Lateran he would not enter Rome. His word was recognised as decisive. Gratiosus the *chartularius*, the slayer of Toto, with no very large troop of Roman citizens following him, marched to the Lateran and ordered the new Pope to depart thence. Philip, who seems to have deserved a better fate than to be made Pope at such a time, calmly descended the great staircase of the Lateran palace [1], and returned amid the reverent greetings of the crowd to his monastic seclusion.

Assembly at the Tria Fata. The election of the new Pope was thus taken definitely out of the hands of the Lombard faction, and was to be carried through by the *primicerius* Christopher alone. He convened an assembly of all the orders of the state at the *Tria Fata* [2], the north-east corner of the Roman Forum, in front of the church of S. Adriano, which probably occupied the site of that which was known in republican times as the Comitium. Here then, where once the Roman people had listened to the orators who expounded to them the policy of the Senate, was now gathered the strangely-mingled assembly which is thus described by the Papal biographer: 'All the priests and leaders of the clergy; the chiefs of the *militia* and the whole

[1] 'Per scalam quae ducit ad balneum.'

[2] So called apparently from three statues of the Fates which were erected there.

army, and the honourable citizens and a concourse of the whole Roman people from great to little[1].'

768. Election of Stephen III.

This assembly, unanimously as we are told, elected Stephen, priest of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, to the vacant see. He was a Sicilian by birth, son of a man named Olivus. He was not more than fifty years of age, and had come as a boy to Rome in the time of Gregory III, who placed him in his own recently-founded monastery of St. Chrysogonus. Zacharias transferred him from thence to the Lateran 'patriarchate,' and gave him a place in his household, at the same time consecrating him as priest of S. Cecilia. He thus became one of those 'cardinal-priests' (as men were beginning to call them) from whose ranks and those of the cardinal-deacons the Pope was now usually chosen. He is said to have been learned (according to the very moderate standard of that age) in the Scriptures and in the traditions of the Church, and he was probably a person of some ability, as he was sent by Paul I on an important mission to Pippin[2].

Such was the man who was now raised by the influence of the *primicerius* Christopher to the vacant patriarchate. The Lateran had again a lawful possessor: the interval of chaos was ended.

[1] 'Omnes sacerdotes ac primatos cleri et optimates militiae atque universum exercitum et cives honestos, omnisque populi Romani coetum, a magno usque ad parvum' (Lib. Pont. i. 471).

[2] Codex Carolinus, Epp. 16 and 17.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PONTIFICATE OF STEPHEN III.

Sources :—

Besides the usual sources we have, for the fall of Christopher and Sergius, the advantage of another authority, in the Report of a certain CREONTIUS (?), envoy of Tassilo of Bavaria, which though now itself lost, has been incorporated in the work of a Bavarian historian of the sixteenth century named AVENTINUS. Aventinus tells the story in his own way and with phrases which savour of the *renaissance*, but his authority adds some important facts; and it is interesting to hear for once two sides of the story, since Creontius and the Papal biographer are on the whole favourable to Christopher and Sergius and look upon their murder as a crime, while the Pope's own letter, preserved in the Codex Carolinus, gives that version of the affair which was most favourable to Paulus Afiarta and his patron Desiderius. Duchesne quotes Aventinus in the notes to his edition of the Liber Pontificalis, and I use his quotation.

In the following chapter we begin to trace the career of Charles the Great, and we must therefore notice two authorities (of very different value) with whom his life is the main subject.

EINHARD, who wrote the well-known VITA CAROLI, was born about 770 in the valley of the Main. He was thus a younger contemporary of Charles, whom he outlived by twenty-six years. Educated in the monastery of Fulda, where the acts of the martyred Boniface were still fresh in the memory of the monks, he became an ardent admirer of the monastic state, though the circumstances of his life prevented his entering it till near its close. About the year 791 his name having been favourably mentioned by the abbot Baugulf to Charles the Great, that monarch invited him to his court, where he soon rose into high favour. He was not only one of the best Latinists in a generation which under Alcuin's influence was beginning to be ashamed of the barbarous Latinity of its fathers, but he was also a man

of considerable mechanical skill and architectural ability, which procured for him in the little *coterie* of the palace the name of Bezaleel, borrowed from one of the chief workers in the adornment of the Hebrew tabernacle. For the last twenty years of his life he seems to have held a position in Charles's cabinet like that of a modern First Commissioner of Works, and at the same time to have enjoyed much of his master's confidence in other ways, and to have been allowed to offer him advice on grave affairs of state. He was a man of small stature and nimble movements. Punning on his name, his companions at court sometimes called him *Nardulus* (the pony). At other times he was talked of as the *homuncio* or *homullus*; and the poet Theodulf describes him as rushing about hither and thither with rapid step, like an ant, his tiny body giving house-room to a mighty soul.

This was the man who, soon after the death of Charles, undertook to write the story of the great Emperor's life, and we may safely say that none of his fellow-courtiers was better fitted for the task. The great defect of his work is his almost slavish imitation of Suetonius, from whose Lives of the Caesars he borrows many sentences, not always appropriately. The fact of these borrowings in some degree lessens the historical value of his work. On the other hand, the fact that he had such a model before him gave freshness and vigour to his narrative, taught him to follow the order of subject rather than of time, and saved him from imitating the bald and meagre productions of the mere annalists.

After the death of Charles, Einhard remained in high favour with his son, and was for many years an influential personage at his court. In 830, when the troubles between Louis the Pious and his sons threatened civil war, he retired from the court and spent the remaining ten years of his life in monastic seclusion. He had been already for some time by royal favour abbot of several wealthy monasteries, although a married man, and of course not residing in any of them. His wife's name was Emma or Imma, sister of Bernhar, bishop of Worms. He was a devoted husband, and though for the last six years of his life they probably dwelt apart, he sorrowed bitterly for her death, which happened in 836. In 840 he followed her to the grave, probably in the seventieth year of his age.

The well-known story of Einhard's intrigue with Charles's

BK. VIII. CH. 11. daughter Emma is a piece of vulgar scandal utterly destitute of proof or probability, and supported only by the authority of the Chronicon Laureshamense, a twelfth-century compilation, of no value for Carolingian history.

(I quote 'Einhardi Vita Caroli' from Jaffé's edition of Monumenta Carolina, 1867.)

The treatise of the MONK OF ST. GALL, 'de Carolo Magno,' in two books, is interesting as showing the early growth of legend and romance round the figure of Charles the Great, and probably contains some authentic pictures of life and manners in his court, but is so manifestly mingled with fable that we can hardly regard it as a historic authority. The book was written between 884 and 887, and dedicated to the Emperor Charles the Fat, great-grandson of Charles the Great. It professes to be a compilation from the oral evidence of three persons: a priest named Werinbert, his father Adalbert, and a third who is not named. The first section relates to ecclesiastical affairs; the second, which is in some respects the most interesting, and probably the most trustworthy as it partakes most of the character of contemporary evidence, deals with the warlike acts of Charles. 'The following narrative,' says the writer, 'will treat of the warlike affairs of the most active Charles, according to the narration of Adalbert, father of the same Werinbert; who was present with his lord Gerold in the Hunnish [= Avar], Saxon and Sclavic wars, and who when as a very old man he maintained me, a little boy, used often to teach me about those campaigns; for though I rebelled and often ran away, I was always forced in the end to listen to his tales.' For the story of the Avar campaigns the old man's recollections filtered through the brain of the Monachus San Gallensis are especially valuable. The third section (concluding the second book) deals with 'the daily conversations' of the Emperor.

Guide:—

For the first twenty years of Charles's reign Sigurd *Abel's* 'Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Karl dem Grossen.'

Character of Stephen III.

THE new Pope, however skilful he may have been as a diplomatist, was not a man of any strength of will or singleness of purpose. In his short tenure of

the Papacy—only three years and a half—he performed some extraordinary political evolutions and was guilty of some acts which at least resemble treachery and ingratitude. Altogether he is one of the poorest figures in the Papal annals of the eighth century.

Punishment of Constantine and his adherents.

The first business of the new reign was to decide as to the fate of 'the invader of the Papacy' and his abettors. George, bishop of Praeneste, who had been, with his will or against his will, the chief instrument in Constantine's elevation, had been stricken with paralysis soon after that event, and was now either dead or so much enfeebled by disease as not to seem worth punishing. Strangely enough, we hear nothing of proceedings against the two bishops, of Albano and Porto, who also concurred in the consecration. The direst fury of the successful champions of the purity of Papal election was reserved for Theodore, the *vice-dominus* who had acted as ecclesiastical prime minister during the thirteen months of chaos, and who with his master sat trembling in the Lateran when the Lombards poured into the City. Some of the more lawless men of Stephen's party, whose cruelty is unsparingly condemned by the Papal biographer[1], laid hold of Theodore where he was kept in ward, and plucked out his eyes and tongue. Passivus, the brother of Constantine, also had his eyes plucked out, and then, as the biographer says, 'they showed themselves so unpitying towards the men whom they had thus bar-

[1] He calls them 'aliquanti perversi, quidam Deum prae oculis non habentes, nec metuentes terribilem futurum judicium, summissi a quibusdam pestiferis malorum auctoribus, quibus et digna factis retribuit Dominus.' These last words possibly refer to Christopher and Sergius, but if so they are contrary to the general Christopherian character of the narrative.

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barously used, that they did not even allow them to be removed to their own homes that they might be tended by their servants, but taking away from them all their goods and their household retinue, they sent Passivus to the monastery of St. Silvester[1] and Theodore to the monastery of Clivus Scauri' (which occupied the site of the palace of Gregory the Great on the Coelian Hill). Here suffering agonies of hunger and thirst, and vainly crying out for water, the unhappy *vice-dominus* soon after expired.

As for Constantine himself, he was brought forth from his prison; a heavy weight was attached to his feet, he was seated on a horse upon which, no doubt in derision, a lady's saddle had been prepared for him[2], and was thus led in ignominious triumph to the monastery of S. Saba on the Aventine[3].

Consecration of Stephen III, Aug. 7, 768.

A week had now passed since the entry of the Lombards into the City. The new Pope was to be consecrated on Sunday, but on the previous Saturday, the 6th of August, certain of the bishops and other clergy were assembled in the Lateran basilica, and Constantine being brought before them was, after the reading of the canons, formally deposed. Maurianus a sub-deacon tore

[1] Doubtless S. Silvestro in Capite (close to the modern Post Office), a monastery founded shortly before this by Paul I.

[2] 'Et magno pondere in ejus adibentes pedibus in sellâ muliebrile sedere super equum fecerunt.'

[3] Otherwise called Cella Nova. This also was connected with Gregory the Great, since it was the place to which his mother Silvia retired after the death of her husband, and from which she used to send him his dinner of uncooked vegetables (see vol. v. 290, and Joan. Diaconus, i. 9). Duchesne points out that two of the convents used as places of confinement for the Constantine party, S. Silvestro and S. Saba, were certainly, and the third, S. Gregorio, probably, at this time in the hands of Greek monks.

the pallium[1] from his neck and cast it at his feet, and then proceeded to cut off his pontifical shoes. Further proceedings against him seem to have been postponed to the meeting of a council. On the next day, as had been arranged, took place the consecration of Stephen III, whereat a general confession was made by the Roman people of their sin in submitting without resistance to the impious invasion of the Apostolic See; and this confession was read again in a loud voice by the scrivener[2] Leontius from the ambo of St. Peter's.

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August 7, 768.

One of the first acts of the new Pope was to send a messenger to his powerful Frankish patrons with the tidings of his elevation and a request for the summoning of a council of the Church[3]. The messenger chosen for the purpose was naturally the all-powerful Sergius, who was now again *secundicerius*, and also *nomenculator*[4] in the Papal court. But when Sergius arrived in Frank-land he found that the old king was already dead.

The last time that Pippin's name was mentioned he was resting at Bourges in the autumn of 767 from his eighth Aquitanian campaign, and was receiving the tidings of the death of Pope Paul. His intervention in the affairs of the distracted Papal See was, as we have seen, solicited by the intrusive Pope Constantine, but apparently the application received no reply. In the spring of 768 he again set his face south-westwards, determined once for all to make an end

Last year of Pippin's life.

[1] Here called 'orarium.'

[2] 'Scriniarius.'

[3] The letter which was no doubt written on this occasion is not preserved in the Codex Carolinus.

[4] Introducer of the Papal guests.

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of the resistance of Waifar, duke of Aquitaine. A certain Remistan, Waifar's uncle, who after taking oaths of fealty to Pippin had treacherously gone over to his nephew's side and surrendered to him the towns which Pippin had entrusted to his guardianship, was captured, apparently not without guile, and hung on a gallows at Bourges. The mother, sister, and nieces of Waifar were next brought in as captives to the king's camp at Saintes. Still, however, the chief quarry escaped. Though utterly beaten, Waifar wandered hither and thither through the cave-lined valleys of Perigord, and though Pippin divided his followers into four bands and sent them in quest of the fugitive, they failed to capture him. At last however on the 2nd of June, 768, the hunt was ended, in unsportsmanlike fashion, by the murder of the quarry: Waifar was assassinated by some of his own followers, as one of the chroniclers tells us, not without suspicion of the king's privity to the crime [1]. The action of Pippin in striving so persistently for the incorporation of Aquitaine with the Frankish monarchy was probably wise and statesmanlike, but there is nothing knightly in his treatment of the champion of her independence.

Death of Waifar of Aquitaine.

Settlement of Aquitaine.

The conqueror took up his quarters at Saintes, and there held an assembly at which he regulated the affairs of Aquitaine, now virtually a new, or at least a recovered possession of the Frankish kings. The great ecclesiastics on whose behalf the contest with Waifar had been originally entered upon were

[1] 'Dum haec agerentur—ut adserunt consilio regis factum fuisset—Waifarius princeps Aquitaniae a suis interfectus est' ('Fred.' Cont. 52).

restored to the full enjoyment of all their estates; new *beneficia* were carved out for the behoof of Pippin's loyal followers; yet according to the wise policy of the Austrasian kings, no attempt was made to force the unique and time-hallowed civilisation of Aquitaine into the rigid mould of the half-barbarous jurisprudence of the Northern Franks. It was enacted 'that all men, Romans and Salians alike, should keep their own laws, and that if any man should come from another province he should live according to the law of his own fatherland[1].' We have seen a similar privilege accorded to the Visigoths of Septimania, who on passing from under the Moorish yoke were assured by Pippin that they should still retain their own laws[2]; and thus we find already in action that curious system of 'personal laws' which was so marked a feature of Carolingian administration, especially in Italy.

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But even while Pippin was thus wisely settling the affairs of his new conquest the hand of death was upon him. It was during his residence at Saintes that he began to sicken with fever. He journeyed towards the Loire; he visited the tomb of St. Martin, greatest of the saints of Gaul, and besought the intercession of the canonised soldier. In vain; but one more journey was left him to accomplish, the journey to his place of sepulture, the venerable abbey of St. Dionysius at Paris.

Death of Pippin, Sept. 24, 768.

[1] 'Ut omnes homines eorum leges habeant, tam Romani quam et Salici: et si de aliâ provinciâ advenerit, secundum legem ipsius patriae vivat' (Capit. Aquit. cap. 10). I am following the guidance of Oelsner (p. 417) in assigning the publication of this interesting capitulary to Pippin's residence at Saintes.

[2] See p. 270. These laws would be probably the Breviarium Alarici.

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He was still living when he reached it, but he died on the 24th of September (768). He had attained only the 54th year of his age. The Arnulfing princes were far tougher and healthier than the short-lived Merovingians, but even they did not attain to great length of days. Probably in Pippin's case the fatigues and anxieties of his nine Aquitanian campaigns hastened his end.

Character of Pippin.

Pippin is one of those historical personages of whom we know just enough to be tantalised with a desire to know more. Even as to his personal appearance we have no trustworthy information. The belief so prevalent in the Middle Ages, that he was a man of short stature, perhaps originated in a confusion between him and his grandfather Pippin 'of Heristal[1],' but the contrast between the little father and the giant son was so tempting that the fallacy easily took root[2]. Already little more than a century after his death Saga was busy with his exploits. The monk of St. Gall (884–887) tells us that having discovered that the chiefs of his army were privately casting imputations on his courage, Pippin ordered a wild bull to be let loose, and then a fierce lion after him. The lion made one spring, fastened his claws in the bull's neck, and pulled him to the ground. Thereupon the king shouted to the by-standers, 'Either drag the lion off the bull or slay him on the top of him.' With hearts frozen with fear the courtiers faltered out, 'Master! there is not a man under heaven who

[1] See Oelsner (p. 11, n. 6).

[2] For instance, in a metrical 'Genealogia' of the twelfth century quoted by Oelsner (l. c.):—

'Karolus quippe Martellus a Pipino nobili
Genuit parvum Pippinum, patrem magni Karoli.'

dare attempt such a thing as that.' Thereupon the king leapt from his throne, drew his sword, cut through first the neck of the lion, then the neck of the bull, sheathed his sword, and calmly resumed his throne. 'Do you feel now,' said he, 'that I can be your master? Have you not heard what little David did to the mighty Goliath and the short-statured Alexander to his stalwart chiefs?' As if struck with thunder, the courtiers fell to the ground, saying, 'Who but a madman would contest your right to rule?'

The story, pure Saga as it evidently is, may be accepted as pointing to an early tradition that Pippin was of short stature, and (which is of more importance) to the difficulties which sometimes beset his path from the insubordinate conduct of some of the leading men of his kingdom. Like our own Henry VII, he had to walk warily in the presence of men who remembered the time when he was only one of themselves. The chroniclers say but little expressly concerning these tendencies towards insubordination; but in one very important case, the debate on the Italian expedition, they admit that such tendencies existed, and we can see that they exerted an important influence on the course of affairs.

King Pippin left but three children—the little princess Gisila, of whose birth and baptism we have already heard in the correspondence of Pope Paul[1], and her two brothers, who had already reached man's estate, Charles and Carloman.

Date of birth of Charles the Great uncertain, probably 742.

It is an illustration of the fragmentary and unscientific character of the Frankish chroniclers of this period that they give us no clear information of the

[1] See p. 265.

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date of so important an event as the birth of CHARLES THE GREAT. His friend and biographer Einhard gives virtually three different dates—742, 743, and 744[1]. Two annalists[2] place it in 747, but it is hardly possible to reconcile so late a date with the commission entrusted to the young prince to meet Pope Stephen II in December, 753, nor with a document of 760[3] in which he is already spoken of as a man. On the whole, the most probable conclusion is that Charles the Great was born in 742, and was therefore twenty-six years old when he succeeded his father.

As to the date of Carloman's birth we have scarcely more information. One annalist[4] places it in the year 751, and if he is correct, Pippin's younger son was a little child of three years old when he, along with his father and brother, received the often-mentioned anointing from the Papal hands in the abbey of S. Denis. On that basis of calculation he would be seventeen years old at the time of his father's death.

Was Charles born before the marriage of his parents?

The strange obscurity which hangs over the birth and infancy of the greatest of Frankish sovereigns may possibly be due to the fact that he was not born in wedlock. Even this cannot be positively asserted;

[1] Charles died on the 28th of January, 814. According to Einhard's life he was then in the 72nd year of his age (born therefore in 742); but his epitaph (quoted by Einhard) describes him as *septuagenarius* (744). In his 'Annales' Einhard says that he died 'anno aetatis circiter septuagesimo primo' (743).

[2] Annales Laubacenses and Petaviani. This date is also vouched for by the almost contemporary author of the Translatio S. Germani, who says that Charles as a boy of seven years old took part in the removal of the relics of the saint, in 754 or 755.

[3] In reference to the convent of Anisola (Oelsner, p. 486).

[4] Annales Petaviani.

but there is some authority[1] for dating the marriage of Pippin with Bertrada, daughter of Charibert, count of Laon, in the year 749, which was certainly after the birth of Charles, though before the birth of Carloman. The sovereigns of Arnulf's line, though not licentious, were notoriously irregular in their matrimonial relations, and seem generally to have kept for some years as a mistress the woman whom they afterwards married with the rites of the Church. According to Frankish law, even on this theory, the subsequent marriage of his parents rendered Charles legitimate, but in the relation which existed between the two brothers, and especially in the somewhat contemptuous tone which Carloman occasionally assumed towards Charles, we may perhaps see indications of the fact that the younger brother prided himself upon the strict legitimacy of his birth and looked upon the elder as little better than a bastard.

Division of Pippin's kingdom between his sons.

The division of his dominions between his two sons had been one of the last occupations of the dying king. The details of that division cannot be quite accurately stated, but we may say generally that the dividing line ran more nearly east and west and less from north to south than in some previous partitions. Thus we are told[2] that Austrasia fell to the share of Charles; Burgundy, Provence, Septimania, Alsace and Alamannia (Swabia) to that of Carloman. The allocation of Neustria is not mentioned, but it seems probable that it was allotted to Charles. As to

[1] The Annales Bertiniani, a ninth-century chronicle. Another authority, quoted by Abel (Jahrbücher, p. 13, n. 3), gives 744 as the date of the marriage.

[2] By the Continuer of 'Fredegarius.'

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Aquitaine, the authorities differ irreconcilably; the historian whom we have just quoted declaring that it was divided between the two brothers, while the author of the Annales Einhardi says that it was all included in the lot of Charles. Bavaria is not mentioned in the scheme of partition, a striking illustration of the virtually independent position obtained by its Duke, Tassilo.

We find with some little surprise both the two young kings fixing their residences in the northern part of the realm. Samoussy[1] near Laon and Attigny on the Aisne are the places from which Carloman dates his charters in the spring of 769, while Charles celebrated the Christmas of 768 at Aquae Grani (Aix-la-Chapelle or Aachen), the first and last love apparently of the great Austrasian.

Strife between the two brothers.

As has been already hinted, the relation between these two brother sovereigns was very unlike that brotherly harmony which prevailed in the previous generation between the elder Carloman and his brother Pippin. The blame of Carloman's ill-temper is laid by one annalist on 'evil counsellors among his nobles,' and it is hinted that at one time there was a danger of actual civil war between the two brothers[2]. As Carloman disappeared early from the scene, we do not of course hear the story as it would have been told by his partisans. Probably, besides the motives of personal pique and thwarted ambition, there may have been working in the minds of the counsellors of the two young kings some of those 'centrifugal' tendencies, the rivalries between Frank and Burgundian, between

[1] Salmunciagum.
[2] Annales Einhardi, s. a. 769; Einhardi Vita Karoli, cap. iii.

the men of pure Teutonic descent and their Gallo-Roman competitors which led a century later to the disruption of the Frankish monarchy.

Charles's war in Aquitaine, 769.

The first event which disclosed to all the world the gaping chasm between the two brothers was the war in Aquitaine. Almost immediately after the death of Pippin a certain Hunold[1], probably related to the family of the dethroned duke, raised once more the trampled standard of Aquitanian independence. Charles marched southwards in the spring of 769 to suppress this revolt, and called on his brother for aid; but though Carloman came to meet him at a place called Duasdives[2], he brought no troops with him, and entirely refused to assist in the reconquest of Aquitaine; an unbrotherly act if the province had been assigned to Charles alone, an incomprehensible one if it was held by the two brothers in partnership.

After all, the revolt of Hunold proved to be but a feeble affair. The old king in his nine campaigns had crushed the spirit of the men of Aquitaine too thoroughly to leave much work to be done there by his son. Charles marched to Aquitaine, and Hunold was soon fleeing before him. He fled to Gascony, and placed himself under the protection of Lupus, duke of that remote corner of Gaul. At the threat of war, war which, as Charles declared, should be continued till Gascony was reduced to the same condition of dependence as Aquitaine, Lupus surrendered his guest,

[1] 'Hunoldus quidam.' I cannot think that the man thus described in the Annales Einhardi is the same as Hunold the father of Waifar who abdicated and retired to a monastery in 744.

[2] Site uncertain: possibly on the river Dive, near Moncontour in Poitou.

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together with that guest's wife[1], and promised implicit obedience to all the commands of the Frankish king. What became of Hunold and his wife we are not told; but Charles was through life, except on one or two occasions of special exasperation, a merciful conqueror. He built a strong fort at Fronsac near the junction of the Dordogne and Garonne, and returned in triumph to his Austrasian home.

Synod in the Lateran for the trial of Constantine, April 12, 769.

While these events were occurring in Gaul, Pope Stephen III, having obtained the consent of the two young kings, was holding a synod in the Lateran basilica[2] in order to obtain the solemn judgment of the Church on the recent anarchical proceedings at Rome. The synod was not ecumenical; it did not even represent all the countries of the Western Patriarchate; but the presence of twelve Frankish bishops 'very learned in the divine Scriptures and the ceremonies of the holy canons,' along with forty ecclesiastics from the various districts of Northern and Central Italy, was a wise precaution to give dignity to the proceedings of the assembly and to prevent its seeming the mere mouthpiece of a vindictive Roman faction[3].

[1] 'Lupus minis regis perterritus Hunoldum et uxorem ejus sine cunctatione reddidit' (Einh. Ann. s. a.). The mention of Hunold's wife adds another improbability to the theory that he was the aged ex-duke, and ex-monk.

[2] Or to speak more accurately according to the language of the time, 'in the basilica of the Saviour next to the Lateran palace.'

[3] The twelve Frankish bishops appear to have been chosen impartially from the dominions of Charles and Carloman. Of the forty bishops, presbyters, and deacons from Italy, two represented the Archbishop of Ravenna, three were from Northern Italy, five from Lombard Tuscany, twenty-two from the *Ducatus Romae*, and eight from the Pentapolis (including a stretch of the Via Flaminia where it crosses the Apennines).

The bishops being all assembled in the great basilica, and Pope Stephen III having taken his place as president of the synod, Constantine, the late Pope, now sightless, and having endured for eight months the hardships of a dungeon, was brought in and placed in the midst of the assembly. It was sternly enquired of him, 'why he, a layman, had presumed to invade the Apostolic See and to do a deed so new and wicked in the Church of God;' whereupon he declared that he had been forced into that deed by the people of Rome, weary of the exactions and injustices of the late Pope, Paul—an important hint as to some of the causes that had been at work in the recent revolution—and, as he averred, after the vote of the people[1] had been taken by show of hands he had been laid hold of and forcibly inducted into the Lateran palace. Then falling to the ground and stretching forth his hands on the marble pavement, he confessed with tears that he had been guilty of sins more in number than the sand of the sea, for which he implored the merciful forgiveness of the synod. They caused him to be raised from the ground and sent back to his dungeon, adjourning their decision for a day.

On the morrow, when he was again questioned as to the 'impious novelty' of his deed, Constantine, who seems to have recovered a little of his lost self-confidence, replied that for a layman to be consecrated bishop was no novelty at all. He might have appealed to the well-known case of the election of Ambrose of Milan, but he chose more recent instances. Only

[1] 'Per brachium populi [or according to the reading adopted by Duchesne 'brachio'] fuisset electus.'

BK. VIII. CH. 11. 769. seventeen years before, Sergius, a layman, whose wife was still living, had been consecrated archbishop of Ravenna, and though it was true that he had been cited to Rome on account of the alleged irregularity, and even imprisoned there, the irregularity had been condoned by Paul I, and he had been allowed to return to his see, an archbishop in full communion with Rome.
766. So too, only three years before the date of the Lateran synod, Stephen, a layman and governor of Naples, who had earned the enthusiastic love of the Neapolitans, had been at a time of terrible pestilence chosen bishop by the people, and had gone to Rome, where he received episcopal consecration at the hands of the same Pope Paul.

When Constantine urged these examples in mitigation of his offence the whole assembly was filled with fury. Unmoved to pity by the vacant gaze of those poor sightless eyes, they buffeted him on the face, they forced him to bow his neck, and finally thrust him out of the church. As to his ultimate fate the Papal biographer is silent. The members of the synod then brought the registers of Constantine's Papal acts and the records of the council which had been held under his presidency and burned them all in the midst of the presbytery. This done, Pope, priests and people cast themselves to the ground, chaunting Kyrie Eleison, with floods of tears—those copious ecclesiastical tears! —confessed their grievous sin in having received the communion from Constantine's hands, and all submitted themselves to the penance due for so great an offence.

The Papal biographer relates at great length the deliberations of the synod concerning the difficult question of ecclesiastical orders bestowed by the hands

of the intrusive pontiff. The practical result was this, that the ecclesiastics who had been raised by Constantine to the rank of bishop were deposed from the episcopal office, but, after submitting themselves to a second election by the clergy and people, were reconsecrated by Stephen. Those men, on the other hand, who had been but laymen before and had received consecration as deacons or presbyters from the intruder, were thrust down from their clerical office (to which Stephen vowed that he would never again raise them), but not being allowed to return into the world and resume the duties and privileges of laymen, were ordered to retire into monasteries and spend the rest of their lives in religious meditation. Unhappy victims, these, of the revolution which in the eighth century corresponded to a change of ministry in the nineteenth!

The usual decree that 'with great honour and affection the sacred images should be venerated by all Christians,' and the usual anathema on 'the execrable synod which has been lately held in the regions of Greece for the deposition of those sacred images,' received the probably unanimous assent of the council. More important than these, however, as affecting the constitution of the Church for the eleven centuries which have since passed over it, was the solemn resolution framed under anathema by the council, 'that no layman nor man of any other order should presume to be promoted to the holy honour of the Pontificate, unless ascending by distinct steps he had first been made [cardinal] deacon or cardinal presbyter.' We here meet, for the first time apparently, with the term cardinal applied to the parochial clergy

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of Rome, those hinges[1] of the ecclesiastical organisation of the Metropolis. They shared it with the 'suburbicarian' bishops of the territory in the immediate vicinity of Rome; and from this time forth it was established as a sacred principle[2] of the Church that only from one of these three orders, cardinal-deacons, cardinal-priests, cardinal-bishops, could a bishop of Rome be chosen. Thus the cardinals were now the alone eligible persons; but it was not till three centuries later that they became the alone electors.

Stephen's letter to the Frankish kings.

It was probably some months, it may have been a year, after this synod of the Lateran, that Stephen III addressed to the two young Frankish kings a letter[3] in which he congratulated them that the dissensions between them, rumours of which had evidently reached even to Rome, were now at an end, and exhorted them to turn their re-established harmony to good account by vigorously urging the assertion of all the just claims[4] of St. Peter. 'If any one tells you that we have already received satisfaction of these claims, do not believe him.'

Harmony was indeed for a short time in the course of the year 770 re-established between the two Frankish kings, but it was by means of which Pope Stephen little dreamt, and which drove him nearly wild with anger and alarm when he discovered their nature.

Influence of the queen-mother Bertrada.

The chief agent in this reconciliation was the dowager-queen Bertrada, who now after her husband's

[1] 'Cardines.'

[2] But there seem to have been at least twenty exceptions, the last in 1378 (Urban VI).

[3] Ep. 46.

[4] 'Justitiae.'

death emerges from the comparative obscurity of her earlier career, and plays with statesmanlike prudence and sagacity that part of all-controlling, all-counselling queen-mother with which we are so familiar in later chapters of French history. The policy which she advised, and which doubtless found many other advocates in the Frankish council-chambers, was not precisely that of the earlier years of her late husband, though towards the close of his reign he had seemed to be tending thitherward. 'Is it wise,' we can imagine the counsellors of Bertrada's party to have questioned,—'is it wise to spend the energies of the loosely-compacted Frankish kingdom in expeditions across the Alps, in order to enforce these shadowy, ever-growing, never-satisfied claims of St. Peter? We thereby make the Lombard our deadly enemy, him who so lately as in the days of Liutprand and Charles Martel, was our cordial, our ancestral ally. And not only the Lombard, but with him goes the young duke of Bavaria [for Tassilo a few years before this time [1] had married Liutperga, daughter of Desiderius, and formed a strict alliance with his new father-in-law]; and Tassilo's relation to the monarchy is one of the darkest spots in our horizon. The late king never ventured to punish him for his great *harisliz* [2] in 763. What the old hero dared not attempt, his young and inexperienced sons are not likely to succeed in. Were it not better to renounce the thoughts of vengeance and to have at least a friendly, an allied, if we cannot have a humbly obedient Bavaria? Aquitaine is but just tranquillised; she is still heaving with the

[1] Not before 764, and not after 769, says Abel, pp. 58–59.

[2] Military defection.

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turmoil of the nine years' war of her subjugation. Then on the north-eastern frontier of the realm hover the fierce, still heathen Saxons. There in those trackless forests, in those wide-spreading marshes between the Weser and the Elbe, lies the real danger, and also the true vocation of the Frankish monarchy. Even the Church can be better served by forcing those wild heathen tribes to bow their necks to the yoke of Christ, than by wresting a few more Italian cities from the Lombards and handing them over to the successor of St. Peter. But before all things peace is the present need of the Frankish kingdom; peace instead of strife between the two royal brothers, peace with the Lombard and peace with the Bavarian. And if the Pope should storm and threaten us with the wrath of St. Peter and the terrors of the Day of Judgment, let him storm and let him threaten. He has been already paid handsomely enough for that holy anointing at S. Denis of which we have heard so much. It is time now for the sons of Pippin to think of themselves and their own country, which is Frank-land, and not 'the province of Italy.'

Bertrada's journey into Italy, 770.

Probably by some such reasonings as this was that great change in Frankish policy brought about, which was signalised by the journey of queen Bertrada to Italy in the year 770. The point which to us is left in the greatest obscurity is how the reconciliation with the Lombards was connected with that which was undoubtedly the object nearest to Bertrada's heart, the reconciliation between Charles and Carloman. That there was some such connection is clear from the words of the annalists, but it would be

mere guess-work to say in what way it was brought about[1]. BK. VIII. CH. 11.

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Intent on carrying through this scheme of reconciliation, Bertrada undertook the labours and not inconsiderable hardships of a journey from the north of Gaul into Italy. Starting probably from her son Charles's court at Liège[2], she met Carloman by appointment at a little place called Selz[3] in Lower Alsace. There, doubtless, mother and son conferred on the new course of policy, and she obtained his consent to the projected alliances. Journeying thence to Bavaria, she no doubt conferred with Tassilo as to the best means of securing the future friendship of Franks, Bavarians, and Lombards. Having crossed the Alps, she probably visited the court of Desiderius at Pavia and there opened the purport of her journey. 'Friendship between the Frankish and Lombard courts: more than friendship, matrimonial alliances: your daughter Desiderata[4] for my eldest son: my

[1] The statement sometimes made on the authority of a late annalist (Annales Lobienses, Monumenta, xiii. 228) that Carloman's wife was the daughter of Desiderius is certainly erroneous. Gerberga, wife of Carloman, was of Frankish descent (as is proved by Stephen III's letter to be shortly quoted), and had been married to him some years before this (Abel, 82, n. 3). Malfatti (ii. 24) thinks that Carloman was the more ecclesiastically minded of the two brothers, and viewed the *rapprochement* between Charles and the Lombards with suspicion. I think Abel inclines the other way, and would say that in 769 Carloman was the more friendly of the two to the Lombards. But all this is mere conjectural argument.

[2] He kept his Easter at St. Lambert in Liège.

[3] 'Apud Salusiam' (Ein. Ann. s.a. 770).

[4] The name of this Lombard princess is variously given, but on the whole, Desiderata seems the most probable form (see Abel, p. 80, n. 5).

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little daughter Gisila, now twelve years old, to become hereafter the wife of your son Adelchis': this was the flattering, the surprising offer made by the widow of the pious Pippin to the 'most unspeakable' Lombard king. Even in making it, however, Bertrada did not wholly forget the claims of St. Peter. Certain additional cities were to be handed over to the Pope; a condition to which Desiderius gladly consented. Though all is left painfully vague as to this part of the negotiation, it appears that some cities—how many we know not—were actually ceded by the Lombard at this time to the Papal See. Bertrada, who as we are told, when she had finished her business, went to worship at the threshold of the Apostles[1], probably took to the pontiff the soothing news of this surrender. We may say almost with certainty that she said nothing at Rome of the projected double marriage. Having probably called on her return journey at Pavia, she recrossed the Alps, taking with her the intended bride. Desiderata arrived at Charles's court; the existing lady of the palace, Himiltrud, was divorced if she was his wife, or simply dismissed if she was his concubine, and the daughter of Desiderius was hailed as queen of the Franks, while some of the chief men of the kingdom swore to the observance of the treaty of peace and friendship which Bertrada had concluded between them and the Lombards[2].

Desiderata, daughter of Desiderius, brought as bride to Charles's Court.

[1] 'Berthrada vero, mater regum, cum Karlomanno minore filio apud Salusiam locuta, pacis causa in Italiam proficiscitur, peractoque propter quod illo profecta est negotio, adoratis etiam Romae sanctorum apostolorum liminibus ad filios in Galliam revertitur' (Einhardi Annales, s. a. 770).

[2] This oath of the great men of the kingdom may be fairly inferred from the statement in the life of Adalhard (c. 7) that

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Pope Stephen's angry remonstrance.

When the news of this astounding alliance, either actually accomplished or about to be accomplished[1], reached Rome, the rage of the outwitted Pope knew no bounds. He seized the pen and wrote to the two brothers one of the fiercest, haughtiest, most scornful letters that ever proceeded even from the Papal chancery, a letter which already seems instinct with the spirit of Hildebrand rather than with the meek submissiveness of a bishop just emancipated from the heavy yoke of Byzantium[2].

After dilating on the virtue of constancy in the faith as exhibited by God's chosen servants, and alluding to the fall of man, which through the wiles of the Ancient Enemy was brought about by the weak nature of woman, Pope Stephen proceeds:—

'Now a thing has been brought to our hearing which we cannot even speak of without great pain in our heart, namely, that Desiderius, king of the Lombards, is seeking to persuade your Excellencies, that one of your brotherhood should be joined in marriage to his daughter. Certainly if that be true

Charles 'quorumdam Francorum juramentis petierat in connubium' the daughter of Desiderius (Pertz, Monumenta, ii. 525).

[1] Abel (p. 81, n. 2) thinks that the unmeasured invective of the Pope shows that the marriage had already taken place and that nothing that he could say would alter it. I do not so read the letter. It seems to me probable that the match was in contemplation but not completed.

[2] There are some orthographical peculiarities in this letter which suggest the idea that it may have been written by the Pope *propriâ manu*, and not by one of the clerks in the Papal chancery. Notice especially the persistent substitution of the diphthong ae for the simple vowel e: 'eccae, certae, veraebamur, resistitae, cotidiae, solitae, benignae, judicae.' The letter is 47 in Jaffé's edition of the Codex Carolinus.

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it is a veritable suggestion of the devil, and not a marriage, but rather a most wickedly imagined concubinage[1]. How many men, as we learn from Holy Scripture, through unsanctified union with a woman of another nation, have departed from the commandments of God, and fallen into grievous sin! But what indescribable folly is this, O most excellent sons and mighty kings, that your illustrious Frankish race which shines supreme above all other nations, and that most noble royal line of yours, should be polluted—perish the thought—by union with the perfidious and foully stinking race of the Lombards[2], which is never reckoned in the number of the nations, and from which it is certain that the tribe of lepers hath sprung! No one in the possession of his senses would ever suspect that such renowned kings would entangle themselves in such hateful and abominable contagion. For what fellowship hath light with darkness, or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?'

The Pope then alludes to the fact, of which he appears to speak without any hesitation, that both the young kings have already, by the desire of their father, married fair and nobly-born wives of their own Frankish nation. This positive utterance of his

[1] 'Non tam matrimonii conjunctio sed consortium nequissimae adinventionis.'

[2] 'Perfidae ac foetentissimae Langobardorum gente polluatur.' Grammar almost requires us to read the first and third words as equivalent to *perfidè* and *foetentissimè*, but this does not give any clear sense. For *perfida gens Langobardorum* see the Papal correspondence, *passim*, and 'foetentissima' seems to refer to early stories told to the discredit of the Lombards in respect of cleanliness (see vol. v. p. 136).

seems to force us to the conclusion, opposed as it is to the statements of most of the chroniclers, that Himiltrud, the mother of Charles's eldest son (afterwards known as Pippin the Hunchback), was his lawfully-wedded wife and not a concubine. But who shall unravel the mysteries of the marriages of these 'most Christian' kings of the Franks?

The Pope proceeds with his passionate exhortation: 'None of your ancestors ever accepted a woman of another kingdom and a foreign nation as his wife'—an assertion which he would have found it hard to justify from history. 'And who of your most noble house ever condescended to contaminate himself by mixing with the horrid nation of the Lombards, that you should now be persuaded to defile yourself with that horrible people?'

Knowing doubtless the share which Bertrada had taken in these hateful negotiations, he reminds her, through her son, that his predecessor Pope Stephen II had dissuaded Pippin from divorcing her—we know not on what pretext—and expresses his hope that the sons will imitate the obedience which the father then manifested towards the Holy See. The same obedience had been shown in rejecting, under Papal advice, the offer of a brilliant alliance for the little Gisila with the son of the Byzantine Emperor.

The Pope then returns to his strongest argument. 'You have promised firm and lasting friendship with St. Peter's successors. Their enemies were to be your enemies; their friends your friends. That league of mutual friendship was the reward of my pious predecessor Stephen II's journey across the Alps, a journey which he would have done well never to have under-

BK. VIII. CH. 11. 770. taken if the Frank, whose aid he invoked, is going to join the Lombard against us. He reminded you of that promise in a letter which he wrote to you on his death-bed. Where is that promise now?

'Wherefore the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, who received the keys of the kingdom of heaven from the Lord, adjures you through my unhappy mouth; and with him all the bishops and presbyters, the nobles and judges, and all the rest of the clergy and people of Rome adjure you, by the majesty of God and by the tremendous day of future judgment, that by no manner of means shall either of you two brothers presume to receive in marriage the daughter of the aforesaid Desiderius, king of the Lombards: nor shall your sister, the noble lady Gisila, dear to God, be given to Desiderius' son: nor shall you dare to put away your wives.

'This warning of ours we have placed upon the tomb of the blessed Peter, and have over it offered sacrifice to God, and we do now with tears direct it to you from the same sacred sepulchre. And if (which God forbid) any one shall presume to act in opposition to this our adjuration and exhortation, let him know that by the authority of my lord the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, he is fast bound in the chain of our anathema, and is banished from the kingdom of heaven, and with the devil and all his horrid crew and the rest of the wicked ones is sent down to be burned in the everlasting fire. But he who shall keep this word of our exhortation, being honoured with celestial benedictions from the Lord, shall be counted worthy to receive the rewards of eternal joy with all the holy ones, elect of God.

'May the heavenly grace keep your Excellencies in safety.'

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The remonstrance unavailing.

This extraordinary letter, as we have seen, failed to produce any effect. The policy of Bertrada and her counsellors was for the time triumphant. Desiderata, the Lombard princess, was enthroned in Charles's palace and received on her head the precarious crown-matrimonial of the Austrasian Franks. Seeing this, the Pope, though doubtless bitterly enraged, concealed his resentment and bided his time. The next two letters from him that we find in the Codex Carolinus[1] are full of words of cloying sweetness, towards Bertrada, towards Charles, and towards Carloman. He announces to Charles and his mother that their envoy Itherius, who was despatched for the restoration to the Holy See of its patrimonies in the duchy of Benevento, has accomplished his mission with admirable prudence and fidelity, and prays that he may be rewarded according to his deserts. He rejoices at receiving the greatly desired 'syllables' from the God-protected Carloman which announce the birth of a son, and craves to be allowed to act as godfather to the infant Pippin[2], that there may be the spiritual relationship of co-fatherhood established between them, to the great joy both of the Pope and the people of Rome[3].

Desiderata married to Charles.

Stephen himself Lombardises.

But all this time events were ripening for a new and astonishing change in Italian politics. 'Since my

[1] Epp. 48 and 49.

[2] His name is given in the Continuation of the Annales Petaviani, s. a. 770 (Pertz, Monumenta, i. 13).

[3] 'Ut eadem Deo prosperante compaternitatis gratiâ in medio nostrum corroboratâ, magnâ laetitiâ ex hoc tam nos quamque universus noster populus pariter relevati exultare valeamus in Domino.'

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Frankish patrons have deserted me,' Stephen seems to have said to himself, 'since they have left me alone to face the fury of the now omnipotent Lombard, what hinders me from following their example, and making my peace, unknown to them, with the common foe?' There were indeed two great living hindrances to the adoption of this tempting policy—Christopher and his son Sergius, *Primicerius* and *Secundicerius* of the Papal household, and all-powerful in the Lateran palace. These men by accepting the aid of Desiderius against the intruder Constantine and then seating their own candidate, not his, on the Papal throne, had sinned too deeply against the Lombard king for any hope of forgiveness. Moreover, in all the subsequent demands for the recognition of the *justitiae* of St. Peter their voices had ever been the loudest and the most importunate. But probably the weak and vacillating Sicilian Pope was weary of the domination of these men, and his weariness made him listen gladly to the suggestions of another of his servants, the chamberlain[1] Paulus Afiarta, who had been gained over by Desiderius and stood at the head of the Lombard faction in the City. The sacrifice of Christopher and Sergius was therefore resolved on, and when in the season of Lent (771) Desiderius came with an army, professedly to worship at the tombs of the Apostles, and when Pope Stephen went forth to meet him and ostensibly to confer with him concerning the restitution of St. Peter's rights, all Rome probably suspected, and Christopher and Sergius knew, that what would be called in modern phrase a change of ministry was impending. It happened that a certain

Paulus Afiarta head of the Lombard party in Rome.

[1] 'Cubicularius.'

envoy of Carloman named Dodo was then in Rome, probably at the head of a body of troops. Some of the peasants of Tuscia and Campania, and even from far-off Perugia, had also been gathered together for the defence of Rome, when it was known that Desiderius was on his way. The gates of the City were closed, new ones were hung on their hinges where the old were too rotten to resist attack [1], the citizens were called to arms, and (again to use a modern phrase) the City was proclaimed to be in a state of siege.

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Desiderius at the gates of Rome.

The contemplated defence of the City of Rome against the Lombards had this peculiarity, that the man who should have been the representative of all that was most Roman and national among the besieged was supposed, not untruly, to be in league with the besiegers. We know from many instances in modern history how ill it fares with a king or a commander-in-chief in such circumstances, and what a menacing shape the indignation of the mob can assume against a half-hearted or traitorous general. In this case, Christopher and Sergius, with their Frankish ally Dodo and a troop of armed men at their heels, rushed to the palace of the Lateran; 'intent on murdering me,' writes the resentful Pope. That is most improbable, but that they meant to put pressure on Stephen to compel him to renounce his alliance with Desiderius is not to be doubted. 'They entered with arms' (he continues) 'the sacred *patriarchium* of the Lateran, they smashed the doors and tore the curtains of the palace with their lances, and entered with their coats of mail and their spears into the basilica of Pope

Mutiny of Christopher and Sergius.

[1] 'Qui etiam portas hujus Romanae urbis claudentes, alias ex eis fabricaverunt' (Lib. Pont.).

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Theodore, where we were sitting, and into which no one had till then penetrated with so much as a knife in his hand.'

The Pope escapes to St. Peter's.

The Pope, we are told, sharply chided the insurgents for coming armed into the holy *patriarchium*, but he condescended to take an oath, 'by all the sacred relics that were contained in the Lateran basilica,' that he would have no secret dealings with Desiderius, and thus quieted them for the time. Next day, however, he contrived to elude their vigilance by some ingenious device [1], and made his way, attended by certain of his clergy, to the great basilica of St. Peter, which was practically the head-quarters of Desiderius. In the conference which there took place the Lombard king appears to have promised to satisfy all the claims of St. Peter, if only those evil counsellors, Christopher and Sergius, might be delivered into his hands. Meanwhile St. Peter's was closed to prevent the egress of the clergy who had come with the Pope; closed too and rigorously guarded were all the gates of the City; everything seemed to portend a bloody encounter.

The defenders of the City disheartened.

The Lombard party was, however, undermining the position of Christopher and Sergius by promises, threats and gold. The great authority of the Papal name was freely used to discourage the citizens who were holding the City against their own bishop. Two bishops, Andrew of Praeneste and Jordanes of Signia, presented themselves before the Porta Sancti Petri, bringing to the two chief rebels the Pope's fatherly advice that they should either enter some monastery for the salvation of their souls, or at once come forth and meet him at St. Peter's. Though Christopher and Sergius knew

[1] 'Per multum ingenium' (Ep. 50 in Cod. Car.).

the Lombard's resentment against them too well to trust themselves to his mercy, others less deeply involved began to waver. The Pope's envoys again approached the gates and cried with a loud voice, 'Hear ye what Pope Stephen orders by the command of God. Do not wage war against your brethren, but expel Christopher and Sergius from the City, and free the City, yourselves and your children from peril.' With that, many began to swarm down the walls that they might make their way to the besieging army. A certain duke Gratiosus, who was a kinsman of Sergius, feigned to depart to his own house, but collected a band of citizens and went to the Porta Portuensis, hoping to be able to open it. Finding it hopelessly barred, they wrenched it from its hinges, and so went forth by night to the Papal presence. And now all the City was in an uproar; everywhere men were trying to open the gates and pass out through them; the two ministers saw that they were surrounded by traitors and the game was lost. When the hour of Vigils[1] sounded from the great bell of St. Peter's, Sergius climbed down the wall and hastened to that basilica, but was arrested by the Lombard sentinels and carried off to their own king. Christopher followed, was also captured, and brought into the presence of the Pope, who promised that his life and that of his son should be preserved if they would quit their public career and enter a convent.

Christopher and Sergius captured,

Next day the Pope celebrated mass in the presence of Desiderius, and returned (apparently) to the Lateran palace after giving orders that Christopher and Sergius, whom he left at St. Peter's, should be quietly brought

and cruelly treated by Paulus Afiarta.

[1] Near midnight.

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back into the City at nightfall. But as soon as the sun began to set, Paulus Afiarta, with a band of reckless partisans and with at least the connivance of Desiderius, forced his way into St. Peter's, carried off Christopher and Sergius, and brought them to the gate of the City. Here, in accordance with that barbarous practice which the New Rome had taught to the Old, his men plucked out the eyes of both prisoners. The aged Christopher, who was carried to the monastery of St. Agatha[1], died in three days of the torment which his brutal captors had inflicted upon him. Sergius, imprisoned in Pope Gregory's monastery on the Clivus Scauri and afterwards transferred to the *cellarium* of the Lateran, lingered there in blindness and misery till the death of the reigning Pope.

Barbarisation of Roman citizens.

It is impossible not to feel, in conning these pages of the Liber Pontificalis, what a wave of barbarism has swept over the leading citizens of Rome, both lay and ecclesiastical, since the days of Gregory the Great. Partly no doubt this is due to the long descent into ignorance and superstition during the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, but it seems to have become more rapid and more fatal since the two Gregories and Zacharias vanished from the scene. Is it an unwarranted conjecture which would connect this increasing ferocity of Roman politics with the acquisition of temporal power by the Roman pontiff?

Report of these proceedings to Charles.

When the revolution was accomplished the question naturally arose, 'What will the kings of the Franks say when they hear of the deeds that have been done?' In order to propitiate their resentment Stephen wrote

[1] S. Agata dei Goti or S. Agata in Trastevere?

a long letter to Bertrada and her son Charles[1], in which he described the whole affair from the point of view of Paulus Afiarta and Desiderius. The Lombard king, once so 'unspeakable' and 'stinking,' is now 'our most excellent and God-preserved son, King Desiderius, without whose aid we and all our clergy and all the faithful members of God's Church would have been in peril of our lives.' 'The most unspeakable Christopher and his most wicked son took counsel with Dodo, the envoy of your brother Carloman, to slay us. Behold what villainies and devilish machinations the aforesaid Dodo put in operation against us, but we are sure that our most excellent son his master will at once disavow his proceedings. It was the enemies of Christopher and Sergius who rushing upon them plucked out their eyes, without our will or counsel, as we call God to witness.' (When Stephen lay upon his death-bed he did not assert his innocence of this crime quite so positively.)

Lastly, 'let your Religiosity beloved by God'—this to Bertrada, 'and your most Christian Excellency'—this to Charles—'recognise how in the name of the Lord the most excellent and God-preserved king Desiderius has met us with all good will. And we have received from him full and entire satisfaction of all the claims of the blessed Peter.' (On this point also, when Stephen lay at the point of death, he told a different tale to his successor.)

[1] Ep. 50 in Cod. Car. I observe that the mis-spelling of ae for e so common in Epp. 47, 48 and 49 does not occur in this letter. Was it actually written by Paulus Afiarta and only signed by Stephen III, or were those previous letters written by Christopher or Sergius or some scribe in the Papal chancery who shared their downfall?

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Ascendency of Paulus Afiarta.

From this time, the Lent of 771 to February 772, Paulus Afiarta, a bold, unscrupulous man, probably reigned supreme in the Papal council, and Stephen was fain to live in outward amity with Desiderius, veiling his fear and his dislike of the unspeakable one as well as he could. Scarcely had this great change in his policy been accomplished when he learned that with a little patience it might have been avoided. Charles the Frank was not after all irrevocably committed to friendship and alliance with Desiderius. It was probably in the summer of 771 that he sent back Desiderata to her father's court, a woman scorned and a repudiated wife. No reason seems to have been given for this insulting breach of the marriage covenant [1], but its cause was probably personal rather than political. The Monk of St. Gall (writing it is true more than a century after the event) says that she was in delicate health and unlikely to bear children, and therefore, in accordance with the judgment of the holiest ecclesiastics, was deserted as if she were dead [2].

Charles repudiates Desiderata, 771.

We may perhaps reasonably conjecture that this delicate Italian flower bore but ill her transplantation to the keen air of Brabant and Westphalia, and that Charles, who was a man of brisk and joyous temperament, spending most of his life in the open air and expecting his wife and his children to follow him to the chase and on the campaign, came to the speedy

[1] Einhard (Vit. Car. xviii) says, 'Deinde cum matris hortatu filiam Desiderii regis Langobardorum duxisset uxorem, incertum quâ de causâ post annum eam repudiavit.' The Vita Adalhardi (cap. 7) says of her 'propriâ sine aliquo crimine repulsâ uxore.'

[2] 'Qua non post multum temporis, quia esset clinica et ad propagandam prolem inhabilis, judicio sanctissimorum sacerdotum relictâ velut mortuâ' (Mon. Sangall. ii. 17).

conclusion that the pale Lombard princess was no wife for him, and cut the knot with as little ceremony as our own Henry Tudor.

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Disapproval of Bertrada and Adalhard.

There were not wanting voices and remonstrance in his own palace against this selfish desertion of a lawfully wedded wife who had done him no wrong. Bertrada, who had arranged the marriage and had brought the young bride across the Alps, was deeply mortified by the divorce, which caused the only serious dissension that ever separated the mother and the son[1]. His young cousin Adalhard also, though still only a page in the palace, boldly condemned the divorce, which, as he declared, would make the king an adulterer, and all his nobles who had sworn fidelity to the new queen, perjurers. Having thus delivered his soul, Adalhard retired from court life into a monastery.

Breach between Charles and Desiderius.

Politically, of course, such an event could have but one result. As close as the alliance between Desiderius and Charles might have been had they remained kinsmen, so deep and impassable was now the chasm between the injured father and the faithless husband of Desiderata. Only, between the dominions of the two kings stretched the wide realm of Carloman, and it is by no means clear what would have been his attitude towards either. The line of policy pursued by his envoy Dodo at Rome looks like hostility to the Lombard, who, as we shall see, expected him to take a bloody revenge for the murder of Christopher and the blinding of Sergius. But on the other hand, Einhard expressly tells us—and his words seem to

[1] 'Colebat enim [Bertradam] cum summâ reverentiâ ita ut nulla umquam invicem sit exorta discordia, praeter in divortio filiae Desiderii regis, quam illâ suadente acceperat' (Einh. Vit. Car. xviii).

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point to this period of their history—that many of Carloman's partisans strove to break the bond between the two brothers, so that some purposed to engage them even in civil war[1]. And it would seem certain that at this crisis, after the repudiation of Desiderata, any one who was the enemy of Charles must have been the friend of Desiderius.

Death of Carloman, Dec. 4, 771.

But all such speculations were set at rest for ever by the death of Carloman, which occurred on the 4th of December, 771. We know nothing of the cause or the manner of this untimely ending of a life which had lasted but twenty years. Nor is the character of the young king, or what might have been the possible future of his career, at all made clear to us. A far less forcible and far less pathetic figure than his uncle the elder Carloman, he seems to us—but herein we may do him wrong—only a somewhat petulant and querulous young man, the impracticable partner of his heroic brother. Like the dark star which, as some astronomers tell us, circles round Sirius, so Carloman interests us only by the question how long he will continue to obscure the transcendent glory of Charlemagne.

Death of Stephen III, Feb. 3, 772.

Two months after Carloman, died Pope Stephen III, after a short and troubled pontificate of three years and a half. What passed between him and his successor Hadrian, when he was lying on his death-bed, will be related in a future chapter.

[1] 'Mansitque ista quamvis cum summâ difficultate concordia; multis ex parte Karlomanni societatem separare molientibus, adeo ut quidam eos etiam bello committere sint meditati' (Einh. Vita Car. iii.)

CHAPTER XII.

RAVENNA AND ROME.

Sources :—

AGNELLI Liber Pontificalis (described in vol. i. p. 472 (900); LIBER PONTIFICALIS (Romae), ed. Duchesne.

BEFORE we enter upon the memorable pontificate of Hadrian I, which lasted twenty-three years and witnessed great changes in the political aspect of Italy and the Papacy, it will be well to give a glance at the ecclesiastical relations existing between Rome and the dethroned capital of Ravenna. Our information on this subject is fragmentary, obscure and confusing; but, even in its confusion, it evidently reflects the troubled and uncertain state of men's minds whenever the relation of the two cities came under discussion.

The resurgent and the setting star.

If we consider their previous history we shall see that there was sure to be some such trouble and uncertainty. Here was Rome on the one hand, which had first obtained her high ecclesiastical position as the political capital of the world, and had then languished for three centuries under the neglect of the great Imperial absentee, but was now virtually throwing off the yoke of Constantinople and winning for herself a new, a temporal, and an Italian dominion by her opportune alliance with the great Austrasian house. Ravenna, on the other hand, which had been

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the seat of the Imperial lieutenants for two centuries, had now lost all the pomp and splendour which they had conferred upon her. No more now would an Exarch fresh from Constantinople, surrounded by his life-guards and followed by his obsequious eunuchs and chamberlains, ride through the streets of Ravenna to hear mass sung in the basilica of St. Ursus or St. Vitalis. The Exarch gone, the Archbishop of Ravenna felt his own importance diminished and power slipping from his hands. Was Ravenna to be only one of the many cities of the Lombard kingdom? Or, yet worse, was it to be politically subject to the see of Rome; the Pope not merely an ecclesiastical superior whose claims to the Universal Patriarchate of the West might be decorously admitted in theory and on suitable occasions evaded in practice, but an actual sovereign, with power of life and death, able to enforce his edicts, and in the last resort judging all causes, civil as well as temporal, at Rome? Even in the days of the great Gregory, when the see of Ravenna was held by his own friend and disciple Marinianus, things had not always gone smoothly between the two pontiffs. Since then, apparently, the estrangement had increased rather than diminished; and now this claim on the part of the Roman Pope to rule Ravenna as a subject city was as much as possible waived aside, and always bitterly resented by the Archbishop and people of Ravenna.

Character of Agnellus' narrative.

It is this contention which gives sharpness to the tone of the ecclesiastical historian of Ravenna whenever he has occasion to mention the see of Rome. Long ago[1] I ventured to bring before my readers

[1] See vol. i. pp. 472–495 (900–916, 2nd ed.).

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some of the strange, often puerile legends which Agnellus, abbot of St. Mary's and St. Bartholomew's, told of the archbishops of Ravenna in that extraordinary book, his *Liber Pontificalis.* We have now come to a different portion of his history. Though still inaccurate and blundering, he has no longer so much need to draw upon his imagination for facts. As we are now within thirty-five years of his birth[1], within seventy years of the composition of his history[2], we may take his narrative as almost that of a contemporary, vouched for as it is by such notes of time as 'this man was my predecessor at four removes in the government of my monastery' and 'my grandfather was concerned in that rebellion.' Above all, the dislike of the Papal claims to sovereignty, which is shown in every page, is an important symptom of the times. We shall certainly follow the counsel of the good Benedictine Editor[3], who tells us that all these calumnies against the Holy See are to be read with caution, but the existence of the antipathy which prompted the calumnies is itself a fact of which we are bound to take notice.

John VI, archbishop of Ravenna. 716–752.

It was an archbishop John, sixth of that name, who occupied the see of Ravenna during the eventful reign of the Lombard Liutprand and for ten years after his death. Agnellus mentions the siege of the city by Liutprand and the act of treachery on the part of one of its citizens by which the Lombard king effected its

[1] 805. [2] 840.

[3] Bacchini. He says in his comment on the life of Sergius (p. 172 ed. Muratori), 'Agnellum etiam habes, qui vindictae stimulis actus indigna de Romano pontifice narrat. Fidem proinde nullam in his meretur Auctor, qui et in historiae veritate foedè labitur.' At the close of Agnellus' life of Sergius he discreetly writes 'Omnia cautè legenda.'

capture. But he says nothing expressly as to its subsequent surrender to the Byzantines, though he implies it by his mention of the Exarch as again ruling in the city. Nor (which is more extraordinary and in fact inexcusable) does he make the slightest mention of the final capture of Ravenna by the Lombards under their king Aistulf in the year 751. To atone for his silence on these important events, he retails some of the ecclesiastical gossip of the city. Archbishop John having become unpopular with the citizens was banished to the Venetian territory for a year. Then Epiphanius the *scriniarius*, lamenting the widowed condition of the Church of Ravenna, persuaded the Exarch to order his recall. On the archbishop's return Epiphanius suggested that he should offer a handsome present to the Exarch and prevail upon him to issue process against the enemies who had procured his banishment. 'If you will do this covertly,' said Epiphanius, 'I will conduct the suits, while you can preserve the pontifical character and appear to have no desire for the punishment of your foes.' It was done: the accusers were summoned before the judgment-seat, and to each one the *scriniarius* said with righteous indignation, 'What sort of a sheep wast thou who, when thy shepherd was leading thee through grassy meads, didst strike him with thy horn and prepare a bill of indictment against him?' Thus by the terrors of the law large sums of money were collected, the promised *honorarium* was paid to the Exarch; possibly something remained over for the ingenious *scriniarius*, and the archbishop was never again molested by his foes.

During the same pontificate, says Agnellus, an Im-

perial *ministrategus* came against Ravenna, thinking to ravage it. And then follows the strange story about the battle in the Coriander-field between the 'Greeks' and the men of Ravenna which has been briefly given in a previous volume[1]. Have we in this wild and somewhat childish legend a remembrance, however distorted, of some genuine engagement between the men of Ravenna and the troops of the iconoclastic Emperor? Were Agnellus a more trustworthy historian, we might question whether after all Ravenna was wrested by the Lombards from the Empire, whether it had not succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Byzantium and was a small but independent state when Aistulf conquered it and annexed it to his kingdom.

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Story of the battle of the Campus Coriandri.

On the death of John VI (in 752) Sergius[2] was elected to the vacant see. The cause of the election of this young man, whom Agnellus describes as 'short of stature, with a smiling face, grey eyes and comely figure, and sprung from very noble ancestors,' is an unsolved enigma. For Sergius was a layman, who by reason of his youth can hardly have won the confidence of his fellow-citizens as did Ambrose of Milan and Stephen of Naples[3] when they were invited or constrained to exchange high office in the State for high office in the Church. Moreover, Sergius was married,

Sergius archbishop, 752-769.

[1] See vol. vi. p. 453, n. 3.

[2] Not of course the same person as the Sergius, son of Christopher, whose share in the struggles for the Roman pontificate was related in the preceding chapter. In the edition of Agnellus in Muratori's Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. ii. (p. 174), there is copied a long marginal note relating chiefly to that Sergius, the Roman *secundicerius*, without any warning to the reader as to its complete irrelevance to the history of the archbishop of Ravenna.

[3] See p. 308.

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and his wife Euphemia was still living, though now consecrated as a deaconess by the husband from whom she was thus strangely separated. The sole explanation that can be suggested for these irregular proceedings is that Ravenna was still in the throes of a revolution, only just annexed to the Lombard kingdom, suffering many vexations (as Agnellus tells us) from the Lombards *and Venetians*—this incidental notice of war with the maritime islanders is perhaps significant—and that there may have been some political reasons for placing the representative of one of the noblest families in Ravenna at the head of the Church, the only institution which seemed to have a chance of maintaining Ravenna's independence.

However, the expedient answered but poorly. Sergius had long disputes with his clergy, most of whom refused to communicate with him, whereupon he consecrated other priests in their places whose claims very nearly caused a schism in his Church. This dispute, however, was healed by smooth words from the young archbishop of the smiling countenance, and by some mutual concessions in the important matter of vestments[1]. Then, however, came a struggle with Rome. Though Sergius had received consecration at the hands of the Pope he was summoned to Rome by Stephen II[2] on that pontiff's return from his memorable journey across the Alps. We are told that he had trusted in the King (doubtless King Aistulf), that he would lend him his

His struggle with Rome, 755 (?).

[1] Apparently the newly consecrated deacons [and priests?] of Archbishop Sergius were not to be allowed to wear the Dalmatic, which was a privilege possessed by the clergy of Ravenna as a great Metropolitan Church, but were to content themselves with a *Superhumerale* after the manner of the Greeks.

[2] Not Paul, as stated by Agnellus.

aid, and being deceived by him was fraudulently led to Rome by some of his own fellow-citizens. Probably the meaning of all these obscure hints is that the semi-independence of the see of Ravenna was an obstacle to Pope Stephen's designs of obtaining temporal dominion over the Exarchate and Pentapolis, and that the irregularity of the election of Sergius, though condoned at the time, now furnished a useful pretext for beating down a dangerous rival.

The enquiry into the cause thus cited to Rome seems to have lingered, for Sergius is said to have been detained there for three years. At last a synod was assembled which was ready to cast him down from his 'pontifical' rank. The Pope (whom Agnellus calls the Apostolicus [1]) thus addressed him: 'Thou art a neophyte; thou didst not belong to the fold, nor serve according to the canons in the Church of Ravenna, but didst creep in like a thief into the episcopal chair, and hast repelled the priests who were worthy to taste the honours of the Church, and by main force and the favour of secular persons thou hast kept possession of the see.' To this Sergius answered: 'It was not by my presumption, but because the clergy and all the people elected me. Thou didst thyself put to me all the canonical questions, and I disclosed everything to thee; that I was a layman, that I had a wife, that I had [suddenly] come into the clerical *status*. All this I made known to thee, and thou saidst that there could be no obstacle [in the way of my consecration]. After thou hadst heard all these things

[1] Reminding us of the phrase 'le Apostoli' by which Innocent III is always denoted in William of Tudela's poem on the Albigensian crusade.

BK. VIII. Ch. 12. concerning me, why then didst thou consecrate me?' After this defence the assembly was divided, but all—says Agnellus, probably untruly—asked with anxiety, 'How can we who are disciples judge him who [as archbishop] is our master?' Then the Pope in anger declared that he would on the morrow tear off the pallium[1] from the neck of Sergius.

All that night the exiled archbishop passed in prayer, with floods of tears, at the altar of St. Nicholas. In the morning all Rome knew that Pope Stephen II had died suddenly and peacefully in his bed; 'by the judgment of God' says the apologist of the pontiffs of Ravenna. At dawn, Paul[2], the brother of the deceased Pope and his destined successor, entered the cell of Sergius, and said to him, 'What wilt thou give me for leave to return in peace and with augmented honour to thy home?' Delighted at the prospect of being thus liberated from captivity, the archbishop said, 'No small rewards will I give thee. Come to the archbishop's palace at Ravenna and examine the treasures stored up there—gold, silver, vessels of price, hoards of money. All shall be given thee; only whatsoever thou likest to leave me as a *benedictio*, thou canst leave.' To this compact they both swore. On that very day the late Pope's brother was raised to the papacy, and celebrated his accession by releasing all captives [Sergius among them] and pardoning all criminals. He sent for Sergius and received him with all honour. When the archbishop of Ravenna fell prostrate on the ground before him—it is a marvel to find Agnellus admitting even that confession of inferiority—Paul raised him therefrom, fell on his neck and gave him the kiss of

[1] 'Orarium.' [2] Miscalled Stephen by Agnellus.

peace, and ordered his seat to be placed next his own in the hall of audience. BK. VIII. CH. 12.

After receiving from the new Pope words of peace and comfort, Sergius returned to his own see in the third year after he had quitted it. He was received with moderate congratulations by his flock, and moderate peace reigned in the City. Possibly this lukewarm reception was the cause why the returning exile proceeded to the church of St. Mary in Cosmedin and after singing mass prostrated himself before the altar of his patron, St. Nicholas, where he prayed for a very long time, and shed tears, 'which,' says Agnellus, 'are preserved unto the present day,' that is to the eighty-fourth year after their first effluxion.

Sergius' return to Ravenna, 757 (?).

In course of time the Pope appeared at Ravenna to claim the fulfilment of the archbishop's compact[1]. The ecclesiastics of the city, knowing that he was coming to rifle their treasury, took counsel together. Some said, 'Let us suffocate him.' Leo the deacon, *vice-dominus* of the archbishop, said, 'Not so; let us beckon him away to yonder cistern, as if we were about to show him some more treasures, and then push him in, so that he may appear no more among men.' At this moment Wiliaris, archdeacon and abbot of St. Bartholomew (Agnellus' predecessor at the fourth remove), came up, saw their plotting, and heard their diverse voices. Thereat he cried out, 'O my brethren, what are you planning? To slay the Pope? God

The Pope at Ravenna seeking treasure.

[1] Agnellus, who calls this Pope Stephen, connects his story with Stephen II's journey to the Frankish court, but this is of course impossible. It is possible, however, that Paul might have paid some unrecorded visit to Ravenna in prosecution of his claims to the Exarchate.

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forbid! Nay, but when night covers the sky, and the Romans, weary of eating and drinking, are stretched in slumber, then let us extinguish the lights, and stow away all the treasures of the church, or as many as we may be able to hide, without the archbishop's knowledge.' So said; so done; but ere they had finished their task, the Pope at dead of night appeared upon the scene, ordered the keys to be brought him by the *vestiarii* (vergers), and opened all the doors of the church. He carried off the relics, which they had not been able to hide, and many precious vessels of gold and silver[1] to Rome. The citizens of Ravenna, when they heard of the robbery of their church, set off in pursuit of the waggon that bore the precious vessels, but the charioteers, alarmed, turned into Rimini for shelter, whereupon the men of Ravenna returned home disconsolate.

After his return to Rome the Pope sent letters couched in flattering terms to the archbishop and nobles of Ravenna, praying for the surrender of the men who had plotted against his life. This was granted; the men were all sent to Rome (the grandfather of Agnellus being one of them), and remained there in prison till they died.

Sergius rules like an Exarch.

'Now Sergius,' says Agnellus, 'judged all the Pentapolis from Pertica[2] as far as Tuscany and the table of Walanus[3] just like an Exarch, and arranged all things as the Romans of old had done. He made a league with the Venetians, because he misliked the king of the Lombards and feared that evil might befall him

[1] 'Cochlearia, tractoria, quaternaria.' [2] Near Modena.

[3] 'Mensam (?) Walani.' The text is probably corrupt. The allusion appears to be to Volano at the mouth of the Po.

from that quarter. In order to carry through this negotiation he gave seven purses[1] of money apiece to each of the chief nobles among them.

Death of Sergius, 769.

On the death of Sergius, which occurred on the 23rd of August, 769, there was a dispute as to the succession to the see of Ravenna, of which Agnellus tells us nothing, but the Roman Liber Pontificalis makes it one of the articles of accusation against Desiderius and the Lombards. There was apparently an attempt to turn the election of Sergius into a precedent, and once more to seat a layman in the archiepiscopal palace of Ravenna. Michael, a *scriniarius* or registrar of the church, a man with no sacerdotal rank, obtained the help of Maurice, the duke of Rimini, who in his turn leant upon the aid of Desiderius, and this coalition succeeded by main force in installing Michael as archbishop of Ravenna, instead of Leo the archdeacon of the church, upon whom the election would otherwise have fallen. As Maurice, the duke of Rimini, by whom this state-stroke was accomplished, is characterised by the papal biographer as 'unspeakable,' and as he acted in co-operation with Desiderius, he was probably a Lombard; and in any case his attitude appears to have been one of entire independence of Rome and even of actual opposition to the Holy See. Yet Rimini was one of the places which thirteen years before had been solemnly surrendered to Abbot Fulrad, and by him handed over to Stephen II. Thus we have in this event one proof the more how precarious and shadowy were the rights secured to the Pope by the great Donation of Pippin.

Michael the Lombard candidate for the see.

For a little time the intrusive archbishop seemed

[1] 'Balantias.'

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likely to establish himself in the see. Leo was shut up in prison, and a deputation was sent from Duke Maurice and the civil rulers[1] of Ravenna to the Pope, praying him to consecrate Michael archbishop, and offering costly gifts to secure his compliance. Weak as he was, however, Stephen III utterly refused to take part in a ceremony which would have entirely stultified his protest and that of his brother ecclesiastics against the election of Constantine. The Church's treasures[2] went to the Lombard at Pavia instead of to Stephen at Rome, and for a year the help of Desiderius thus purchased succeeded in keeping Michael on his archiepiscopal throne. Then the stubborn refusal of the Pope to consecrate and the terror inspired by a peremptory message from the Frankish king Charles, won the day. There was a popular insurrection at Ravenna. Michael was sent bound to Rome for judgment, Leo was liberated and elected archbishop. He hastened to Rome with a long train of nobles and ecclesiastics, and was solemnly consecrated archbishop towards the end of 770, a little more than a year before the death of his champion Stephen III. Though he owed so much to Rome, his attitude during the eight years of his pontificate was generally one of stubborn opposition to the Papal claims.

Michael deposed; Leo archbishop, 770.

The relations of the two Churches of Rome and Ravenna during the middle of the eighth century, which have been here briefly reviewed, vividly exhibit the uncertain nature of the Papal sovereignty over

[1] 'Judices.'

[2] Which the Liber Pontificalis calls *quimilia*; a barbarous rendering of *κειμήλια*.

the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. It was one thing to get a 'page of donation[1],' conferring wide-spread territories on the vicar of St. Peter; it was quite another thing to establish what modern diplomatists call 'effective occupation' of those territories. With such a royal or imperial mandate and with a full treasury, a Pope of the fifteenth century would probably have had but little difficulty in hiring a *condottiere* captain who would have made his claim effective. But though she had within her abundant elements of disorder, Italy was not cursed with *condottieri* in the eighth century.

[1] 'Donationis pagina,' the often-recurring expression in the Papal correspondence.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ACCESSION OF POPE HADRIAN.

Source:—The LIBER PONTIFICALIS.

Violent deeds of Paulus Afiarta.

POPE STEPHEN III died, as we have seen, on the 3rd of February, 772. The waves of strife which had tossed him to and fro during his short and troubled pontificate were still raging round his death-bed. To the fierce and unscrupulous Paulus Afiarta it was a matter of life and death to preserve the ascendency of the Lombard faction and to crush any attempt of the Roman or Frankish parties to elect a Pope who would reverse the recently-adopted policy. Many of the clergy and civil magistrates of the City were sent into exile, even while Stephen III was dying, and a more terrible vengeance was taken on the hapless Sergius, who, though blinded and in prison, was still formidable to the imagination of Paulus. There seems to have been a *junta* of counsellors who at this time of crisis wielded all the power of the dying Pope. They were Paulus himself (who held the office of chamberlain), John the *dux Romae* (who was brother of the Pope, and whose implication in these deeds of violence renders it probable that Stephen himself had really concurred in the recent revolution), Gregory the *defensor regionarius*, and another chamberlain

named Calvulus[1]. These men signed an order to the warders of the prisons in the Lateran[2] for the delivery of the body of the captive Sergius. In the first hour of the night, eight days before the Pope's death, Calvulus presented himself at the dungeon door with two men of Anagni, Lumisso a priest and Leonatius a military officer[3], and obtained possession of the person of the blind captive. The course of the narrative looks as if the two men of Anagni had some private resentment of their own to gratify by the murder of the fallen minister. However this may be, he was straightway slain and buried in a street close to the Arch of Gallienus.

772. Murder of Sergius.

Happily for the fame of the Holy See, these unscrupulous attempts to silence the voice of opposition to Paulus Afiarta and his party were not successful. We may perhaps conjecture that if there was a Lombard party in the Papal Curia represented by Paulus, and a Frankish party of which Christopher and Sergius had been the heads, there was also a Roman party representing the best traditions both of the City and the Church, who were determined that the most exalted office in Christendom should no longer be made the prize of victory in the bloody strife of *cubicularii* and *primicerii*. It was probably the voice of this respectable middle party which secured the election of one of the greatest Popes of the eighth century.

Election of Hadrian I, Feb. 9, 772.

HADRIAN I, son of Theodore, was a pure Roman by birth, born at a house in the Via Lata, near to where the modern Corso opens out into the Piazza di Venezia. His parents, who belonged to the highest

[1] Or Calventzulus. [2] 'Cellararii.' [3] 'Tribunus.'

nobility of Rome, died in his childhood, and he was brought up in the house of his uncle Theodotus, who had been formerly consul and duke, but afterwards filled the office of *primicerius* of the Roman Church. Hadrian grew up, a young man of handsome presence and generous and manly character, conspicuous while still a layman for his devout attendance at the neighbouring church of St. Mark, his almsgiving, his austerities, his study of the canons of the Church. Such a man, in the intellectual atmosphere of Rome, was naturally attracted within the ecclesiastical orbit. At the urgent invitation of Pope Paul he became first *notarius regionarius*, then sub-dean; and the succeeding Pope Stephen III advanced him to the rank of deacon, and admitted him to his intimate confidence. Though the biographer speaks of the devotion to study which marked him from his earliest youth, his learning, if measured by classical standards, would probably have been found woefully deficient. His letters, contained in the Codex Carolinus, swarm with grammatical blunders of which a schoolboy would be ashamed: and this is the more extraordinary, because (as was explained in an earlier volume[1]) Hadrian was the Pope by whose orders the letters of his renowned predecessor Gregory I were collected into the great Register in which most of them have become known to later ages. And those letters, though not written exactly in the style of Cicero or even of the younger Pliny, are at least free from the solecisms which disfigure the letters of Hadrian. However, 'in the country of the blind the one-eyed man is king,' and in the dense ignorance which prevailed at Rome in

[1] Vol. v, p. 334.

the middle of the eighth century Hadrian seems to have been reputed a learned man. He soon became a great and popular preacher, and this undoubted popularity caused him to be elected (9th of February, 772) as successor of Stephen III on the Papal throne.

He emancipates himself from Paulus Afiarta.

The new Pope at once showed that he did not intend to be a mere instrument in the hands of Paulus Afiarta. On the very day of his election, even before his consecration, he ordered—and this prompt exercise of his power shows how truly monarchical was now the Papal character—that all the nobles of Church and State whom Paulus had banished from the City should be at once invited to return, and that all the political prisoners should be liberated. For the hapless Sergius, whom men doubtless expected to see now emerging from the dungeons of the Lateran, the order of release came too late.

Anxiety of Desiderius at the new turn of affairs.

Desiderius heard with concern that a new Pope who was not amenable to the counsels of his partisan was sitting in the palace of the Lateran. He sent an embassy, consisting of Theodicius duke of Spoleto, Tunno duke of Ivrea, and Prandulus the keeper of his wardrobe[1], to propose a renewal of the same friendly relations which had of late subsisted between Pavia and Rome. The speech in which Hadrian replied to the smooth words of these ambassadors was one of startling and undiplomatic frankness.

Hadrian's reply to Desiderius.

'I for my part wish to live in peace with all Christians, including your king Desiderius, and in that covenant of peace which hath been established between Romans, Franks and Lombards I shall study to abide. But how can I trust that same king of yours when I remember

[1] 'Vestararius.'

BK. VIII. CH. 18. 772. what my predecessor in this office, lord Stephen of pious memory, told me confidentially concerning his broken faith. For he told me that he had lied to him in everything which he had promised with an oath on the body of the blessed Peter, as to restoring the rights of God's holy Church: and further that it was only under the persuasion of the unjust arguments of the same Desiderius that he caused the eyes of Christopher and Sergius to be dug out, and executed the will of the Lombard on those two officers of the Church.'

(It was not therefore wholly without the consent of Stephen III that that barbarous deed was done.)

'And in this way he caused us great harm and loss, for [the alleged reconciliation] brought no advantage at all to the apostolic cause. All this my predecessor, for the love which he bore unto me in my humble station, confided unto me: and moreover he shortly after sent unto him his own messengers [1], exhorting him to fulfil his promises to St. Peter. But this was the [insulting] reply which those messengers brought back with them:—

'"It is enough for the apostolic Stephen that I have cut off Christopher and Sergius from the world, since they were domineering over him. He need not talk about recovering the rights of the Church; for if I do not myself help the apostolic man, he himself will soon be ruined, since Carloman, king of the Franks, the still surviving friend of Christopher and Sergius, is making ready an army to avenge their fate by marching to Rome and taking the pontiff himself captive."

[1] Viz. Anastasius, first *defensor*, and Gemmulus, subdeacon.

'That was his reply. Lo! there you have the honour of King Desiderius and the measure of the confidence that I may repose in him.'

After Hadrian had liberated his soul by this outburst, the Lombard emissaries assured him with solemn oaths that their master was this time in earnest in his desire for a league of amity with the Holy See, and would purchase it by the surrender of all the territory for which Pope Stephen III had striven. Once again the blandishments of the Lombard prevailed. Hadrian believed their words, and sent two ambassadors, of whom Paulus Afiarta was one, to receive the surrender of the desired territory[1].

Desiderius resumes the last surrendered cities.

Hardly, however, had the Papal messengers reached Perugia on their journey towards the Exarchate when they learned that Desiderius, far from preparing to cede any more cities to the Roman See, had appropriated Faenza, Ferrara and Comacchio, that is, had resumed possession of the cities which he surrendered in 757, and had added thereto Comacchio, which formed part of the territory ceded by Aistulf to Pippin's representative in 756. The faithlessness, and more than that, the inconsistency, the childish levity of purpose which characterise these Lombard kings, exasperate the chronicler of their deeds and make him almost ready to acquiesce in the 'unspeakable' names hurled at them by Papal biographers.

It may be suggested with some probability that the cause of this sudden change of front on the part of

[1] Paulus is here called *cubicularius* and *superista*, the latter term signifying, according to Duchesne, 'chief of the military household.' The other messenger was Stephen, *notarius regionarius et sacellarius*.

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Desiderius was the arrival of the widow and children of Carloman at the Lombard court. To understand the bearing of this event we must go back to the closing month of 771, in which the opportune death of Carloman relieved the Frankish world of the fear of a civil war between the two brothers. Charles's measures were taken with such exceeding promptitude as to suggest the thought that his plans had been matured while Carloman was dying. He hastened to Carbonacum[1], a royal 'villa' in Champagne, just over the frontier, and there met a number of the most eminent nobles and ecclesiastics of his late brother's kingdom. Chief among them were the venerable Fulrad, abbot of S. Denis, and Wilchar, archbishop of Sens[2], both of whom had often carried Pippin's messages to Rome. Carloman had left two infant sons, and the claims of both of these to share their father's inheritance were doubtless discussed in the assembly of Carbonacum. But the evil result of these divisions of the kingdom was too obvious, the lately impending danger of civil war was too terrible. The majority of the counsellors of the late king gave their voices for reunion under Charles, who celebrated his Christmas at Attigny as sole lord of all the Frankish dominions.

Charles sole king. Dec. 771.

On learning the decision of the assembly, Gerberga, the widow of Carloman, taking with her the two infant princes, crossed the Alps and sought shelter

Carloman's widow Gerberga retires

[1] Now Corbeny, in the department of the Aisne, not far from Laon.

[2] So I think we must read, substituting Senonensem for the Sedunensem (bishop of Sitten) which the text of Einhardi Annales gives us. Is it possible, however, that the other Wilhar or Wilchar, bishop of Nomentum, had settled north of the Alps and received this Burgundian bishopric of Sitten?

772. to the court of Desiderius.

at the court of Desiderius. With her went some, apparently not a large number, of the courtiers of her late husband, pre-eminent among whom was Duke Autchar, the same doubtless who eighteen years before had escorted Stephen II on his memorable journey into Italy. King Charles, we are told, took very patiently his sister-in-law's flight to the court of his enemy, though he considered it 'superfluous,' or, as a modern would probably express the matter, 'in bad taste.'

Hostile policy of Desiderius.

The arrival of Gerberga with her children and counsellors put a new weapon in the hand of Desiderius for revenge on the husband of his daughter. For to that revenge all calculations of mere policy had now to yield, the pale figure of the divorced and uncrowned queen of the Franks, 'not quite a widow, yet but half a wife,' being ever in his sight and mutely appealing for the redress of her wrongs. Nor as a question of mere policy did the scheme which now shaped itself in his mind seem an unwise one. If he could have Carloman's children (the sole strictly legitimate heirs of Pippin, since Charles was not born in wedlock) confirmed in the succession to their father's kingdom; a barrier thus erected between him and the Austrasian king; his son-in-law Tassilo of Bavaria united to him, both by kinship and alliance; Desiderius might reasonably reckon on being left at liberty to pursue his designs for the subjugation of the whole of Italy, unhindered by meddlers from beyond the Alps. Obviously the doubtful element in the calculation was the degree of support which

[1] 'Rex autem profectionem eorum in Italiam quasi supervacuam patienter tulit.' Einhardi Annales, s. a. 771.

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Gerberga could obtain in Frank-land itself for the claims of her infant sons. The chances of that support were no doubt over-estimated both by her and by her right-hand man, Autchar; but when have the exiled pretenders to a throne rightly calculated the chances of a Restoration?

Desiderius and Pope Hadrian.

For the fulfilment of the designs of Desiderius it was desirable that he should make the Pope his confederate, in order to obtain the religious sanction conveyed by his consecration of the infant princes as kings of the Franks. The Lombard king evidently hoped to wrest this concession from the Pope by the same mixture of flattery and intimidation which had been so successful with his predecessor. He had yet to learn how different from the wavering will of Stephen III was the steadfast mind of Hadrian.

It was doubtless in order to execute these projects that Desiderius, not two months after the accession of Hadrian, made that fierce dash across the Apennines in the course of which, as already related, he wrested from the Roman See its newly-acquired cities of Faenza, Ferrara and Comacchio. At the same time the territory round Ravenna was ravaged by the Lombards, who ransacked the farms and cottages, and carried off the herds of cattle and the slaves of the farmers and the stored-up provisions of the peasants. Two tribunes[1] brought to Hadrian from Leo the new archbishop of Ravenna the tidings of these outrages, with a piteous appeal for help, 'since no hope of living was left to him or his people.'

A fresh embassy from the Pope—since the mission of Paulus Afiarta and his colleague had proved so

[1] Peter and Vitalian.

fruitless—brought to Desiderius the grave rebuke of Hadrian for these repeated outrages and violations of his promise. And now in his answer to this embassy the Lombard king showed at what he was aiming: 'Let the Pope come to hold a conference with me, and I will restore all those cities which I have taken.' The Papal messengers, who doubtless saw Gerberga and Autchar at the court of Pavia, perceived that this personal conference would involve a request or a command to anoint with the holy oil the children of Carloman.

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Intrigues of Paulus Afiarta.

Meanwhile what was Paulus Afiarta, so lately the omnipotent minister of the Pope, doing at the court of his friend Desiderius? He lingered on there, perhaps conscious of the peril which awaited him at Rome, but seeking by braggart words to reassure the king as to his undiminished credit at the Papal court: 'You desire, O king, to have colloquy with our lord Hadrian. Trust me to bring it to pass. If needs be, I will tie a rope to his feet, but I will by all means bring him into your presence.' And so saying he started on his return journey to Rome.

Enquiry into the murder of Sergius.

At Rome, meanwhile, in the absence of Paulus Afiarta, the murmurs and the suspicions caused by the disappearance of Sergius had grown stronger and stronger. At last the Pope summoned all the keepers of the *cellarium* in the Lateran and began a formal enquiry into the fate of their late prisoner. The warrant for his delivery to the chamberlain Calvulus was produced, and he, being questioned, admitted having transferred Sergius to the keeping of the two men of Anagni. They were sent for from Campania, brought into the Papal presence, and, apparently,

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examined by torture[1]. Thus urged they confessed that they had slain Sergius, and were sent, under the guard of some of the Pope's most trusted servants, to show his place of burial. They came to the Merulana, to the Arch of Gallienus, near to which they dug for a little while, and then showed the guard the body of the ill-fated *secundicerius*, his neck bound tight with a rope and all his body gashed with wounds. Whereupon the beholders concluded that he had been suffocated, and then buried while still alive.

Punishment of the murderers.

The bodies of the two fallen ministers Christopher and Sergius were now taken up and buried with honour in the basilica of St. Peter. The sight of the mangled body of Sergius stirred his late colleagues, the officials of the Church and State[2], to such a passion of indignation that they with a whole crowd of the commonalty of Rome rushed to the Lateran palace and clamorously besought the pontiff to take summary vengeance on the torturers and murderers of a blind prisoner. Accordingly Calvulus the chamberlain and the two men of Anagni being handed over to the secular arm, as represented by the Prefect of the City, were led down to the public prison[3] and there examined in the presence of the people. The meaner criminals, the two men of Anagni, repeating the same confession

[1] 'Fortiter constricti.'

[2] 'Universi primati ecclesiae et judices militiae.'

[3] 'Deductique Elephanto in carcere publico.' The Elephas Herbarius (probably a statue of an elephant erected in the vegetable market) stood between the Capitoline Hill and the Tiber, close to the Forum Olitorium, south-east of the Theatre of Marcellus. The remembrance of the prison mentioned above is preserved in the name of the adjoining church, S. Niccolo *in Carcere* (Duchesne, Lib. Pont. i. 515).

which they had already made in presence of the Pope, were transported to Constantinople, there to be dealt with as should seem fitting to the Emperor. Of their further fate we hear nothing. Calvulus refused to confess his share in the crime, and, as we are told, 'expired by a cruel death in prison[1].' Probably this means that he died under the torture which failed to extract the desired confession.

Fate of Paulus Afiarta.

Two men, who from their exalted position deserved the severest punishment of all, Duke John the late Pope's brother and Gregory the *defensor regionarius*, seem from the Papal biographer's silence as to their cases to have been left unmolested. But for Paulus Afiarta, the friend of the Lombard, the recreant servant of the Pope, another fate was in store. He had already left Pavia, and had been arrested by the Pope's orders at Rimini, the reason for that detention being apparently his treasonable practices with the Lombard. Now the minutes of the proceedings during the enquiry into the murder of Sergius were forwarded to Archbishop Leo at Ravenna, with instructions to deal with the case according to the ordinary course of justice. On receipt of these instructions the archbishop handed the prisoner over to the *consularis* of Ravenna, the officer who, now that the Exarch was gone, appears to have wielded the highest secular authority in the city. A public examination took place; the minutes forwarded from Rome were read; Paulus Afiarta confessed his guilt. The Roman pontiff expected that his brother at Ravenna would make a formal report of the case to him, but the archbishop having now got an old enemy into his power had no

[1] 'Qui tamen in eodem carcere *crudeli morte* amisit spiritum.'

BK. VIII. CH. 18. 772. intention of allowing him to escape out of his hands. In these circumstances, strange to say, Pope Hadrian, who seems to have been sincerely anxious to save the life of Paulus though desiring his punishment, tried the desperate expedient of an appeal to Constantinople. To Constantine Copronymus and his son Leo, now associated with him in the Empire, he sent a memorandum [1] setting forth the crime of Paulus, and praying them to arrest him and keep him in close confinement in 'the regions of Greece [2].' A chaplain [3] named Gregory, who was being despatched to Pavia on one of the usual embassies of complaint to Desiderius, was instructed to halt at Ravenna and give to Archbishop Leo the necessary orders for the transmission of the culprit to Constantinople on board a Venetian vessel. The archbishop, however, somewhat insolently replied that it would be a mistake to send Paulus Afiarta to Venetia, since Maurice the duke of that district was in anxiety about his son, a captive in the hands of Desiderius, and would be tempted to make an exchange of prisoners, surrendering Paulus to his Lombard friend and receiving back his son. The Papal messenger proceeded on his journey, after giving a solemn charge to the archbishop and all the magistrates of Ravenna that not a hair of the prisoner's head was to be touched: but on his return from Pavia he found that the *consularis*, by order of the archbishop, had put Paulus Afiarta to death. Great was his indignation at this

[1] 'Suggestio.'

[2] Probably a general expression for that which it is now the fashion to call 'the Balkan peninsula.'

[3] 'Sacellarius.' With Gregory was joined Aroald, *chartularius* of the City of Rome. We note with interest a man with a Lombard name in the Papal service.

act of disobedience to his master, and sharply was it expressed. Archbishop Leo, perhaps somewhat terrified by the thought of what he had done, wrote to Hadrian praying for a consoling assurance that he had not sinned in avenging the innocent blood. He received however only a curt reply: 'Let Leo consider for himself what he has done to Paulus. I wished to save his soul, by enjoining him to lead a life of penance, and gave my orders to my chaplain accordingly[1].' BK. VIII. CH. 13. 772.

The proceedings in this complicated affair are narrated in the Liber Pontificalis with a tedious minuteness which suggests the probability that the chaplain Gregory himself composed this part of the narrative and desired to clear himself and his master of all complicity in the death of Paulus Afiarta. The narrative however is not without its value, since it shows that still, so late as the year 772, the Pope was willing to recognise a certain jurisdiction over Roman citizens as vested in the Emperors at Constantinople, heretics and iconoclasts though they might be. It also illustrates the growing independence of the archbishops of Ravenna and their determination not to acknowledge the bishops of Rome as their superiors in any but purely ecclesiastical concerns.

The fall of Paulus Afiarta destroyed the last link between the Roman pontiff and the Lombard king. The latter now pursued without check or disguise his Raid of Desiderius into the Penta- polis,

[1] 'Ita illi dirigens in responsis "quod ipse videat quid in eodem Paulo operatus est. Nam certè ego animam ejus salvare cupiens, poenitentiae eum summitti decreveram. Ideo meum sacellarium direxi huc Romam eum deferendum."' This last clause (which I have ventured to vary in my translation) does not correspond with the biographer's own account of the orders given to the *sacellarius*.

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brutal policy of forcing the Pope to become his instrument by despoiling him of his domains. The summer and autumn of 772[1] were occupied by a campaign—if we should not rather call it a raid—on two sides of the Papal territory. In the Pentapolis the Lombards seized Sinigaglia, Iesi, Urbino, Gubbio, Mons Fereti[2] and several other 'Roman' cities[3]. In fact, when we consider how much Desiderius had abstracted before, we may doubt whether in these Adriatic regions any city of importance was left to St. Peter except Ravenna and Rimini. This raid was accompanied, as we are told and we can well believe it, by many homicides, many conflagrations, and the carrying off of much plunder.

and into the *Ducatus Romae.*

Even more insulting and more ruthless were the proceedings of the Lombard ravagers in the near neighbourhood of Rome. Blera[4], only thirty miles north-west of Rome, was one of the four cities which thirty years before had been surrendered by the great Liutprand to Zacharias after the conference at Terni. It was assuredly the act of a madman, made 'fey' by the shadow of approaching doom, to harry the lands which his great predecessor had formally handed over to St. Peter's guardianship. Yet the word of command having been given, the rough Lombard militia of Tuscany[5] poured into the territory of Blera, while the citizens, with their wives, their children, and their

[1] Apparently, but the Papal biographer's indications of time are very meagre.

[2] Now San Leo, a little west of S. Marino.

[3] 'Caeterarum civitatum Romanorum.' It is noteworthy that they are still called 'of the Romans,' not Papal or ecclesiastical, or any word of that kind.

[4] Now Bieda.

[5] 'Generalis exercitus partium Tusciae.'

servants were engaged in the peaceful labours of the harvest. The invaders slew the chief men of the city (who were probably foremost in resisting the invasion), ravaged the country all round with fire and sword, and drove off a multitude of captives and of cattle into the land of the Lombards. Several other cities of the *Ducatus Romae* suffered more or less from similar depredations, and Otricoli on the Via Flaminia, a stage nearer to Rome than Narni, was occupied by the Lombard host.

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Insolent diplomacy of Desiderius.

While these deeds of lawless aggression were being perpetrated, the insolent diplomacy of Desiderius also held on its course[1]. Several times did his messengers, Andrew the *referendarius* and Stabilis the duke, appear at the Lateran desiring the Pope to come and talk with their master 'on equal terms[2].' The answer

[1] It does not seem worth while to load the text with the names—generally mere names to us—of the envoys who passed backwards and forwards between Hadrian and Desiderius in 772 and 773.

They are as follows:—

From the Pope, 'Probatus, abbot of the monastery of the Mother of God in the Sabine territory, sent with twenty of his older monks to Desiderius on a mission of entreaty.'

From Desiderius, 'Andrew the *Referendarius* and Stabilis the Duke.'

From the Pope, 'Pardus, *Hegumenos* (superior) of the [Greek] monastery of St. Sabas [on the Aventine], and Anastasius, *Primus Defensor*.'

From Desiderius (on the way to Viterbo), 'Andrew the *Referendarius*' and two other *Judices*.

From the Pope (bearing his anathema), Eustratius, bishop of Albanum, Andrew, bishop of Praeneste, Theodosius, bishop of Tibur.

From the Pope to Charles, Peter.

From Charles to the Pope, George, bishop of some unnamed see, Wulfard, abbot of St. Martin of Tours, and Albuin, a confidant (*deliciosus*) of the king.

[2] 'Ut cum eo pariter ad loquendum deberet conjungi.'

BK. VIII. CH. 13. 772. of Hadrian was firm and dignified: 'Tell your king that I solemnly promise in the presence of the Almighty, that if he will restore those cities which in my pontificate he has abstracted from St. Peter, I will at once hasten into his presence wheresoever he shall choose to appoint the interview, whether at Pavia, Ravenna, Perugia, or here at Rome; that so we may confer together about the things which concern the safety of the people of God on both sides of the frontier. And if he have any doubt of my keeping this engagement, I say at once that if I do not meet him in conference he has my full leave to re-occupy those cities. But if he does not first restore what he has taken away, he shall never see my face.' There spoke the worthy successor of Leo and of Gregory, the truly Roman pontiff, who showed that a citizen of the seven-hilled City had not quite forgotten the old lesson 'to spare the fallen and war down the proud.' In truth this year 772, which might have been the Lombard's great opportunity, had he known how to use it, was the year which brought out in strongest relief what there was truly heroic in Hadrian's character. We hear at this time of no cry for help to Frankish Charles. Both Hadrian and Desiderius knew full well that such a cry would have been uttered in vain, for Charles had now begun that which was to prove the hardest and longest enterprise of his life, the subjugation and conversion to Christianity of the fierce Saxon tribes who dwelt in the regions which are now called Hanover and Oldenburg, on the north-eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom. Though in the course of Charles's great career he was eventually carried across the Alps and the Pyrenees, though the Voltorno and

Charles begins the Thirty Years' War with the Saxons.

the Ebro saw the waving of his standards, his heart seems to have been always in his own native Austrasia, and his conception of his kingly duties was connected much more with the civilisation of Central Europe than with the extension of his dominions along the shores of the Mediterranean. Thus it was that, carrying forward the policy of his father and the preaching of St. Boniface, he determined that heathenism should cease throughout Saxon-land, and devoted the first energies of his kingdom, when consolidated by the death of Carloman, to the attainment of that great object. Assuredly the work took longer time than he had expected. It began in 772, and was not completed till 804, after thirty-two years of almost incessant war. Possibly, had he known how long a road lay before him, he might never have entered upon the journey: but if so, it is fortunate for Europe that the future was hidden from his eyes, for however ruthless were some of his methods, however ghastly some pages of his slaughterous evangel, there can be no doubt that, in one way or another, the work had to be done, and that the world is better for the doing of it. If therefore, from an Italian point of view, Charles's action shall sometimes seem to us fitful, capricious, and lacking in unity of design, we must remember that during all the years of his vigorous manhood this arduous Saxon problem was absorbing the best energies of his body and his soul.

Intent on his great design Charles summoned his *placitum*—or, as we may call it, using the language of later centuries, the *diet* of his kingdom—to meet at Worms, probably in the early summer. From thence he advanced into the land of the Saxons, accom-

Placitum at Worms, 772.

BK. VIII. CH. 18. 772. Invasion of Saxonia. panied not only by his stalwart Frankish soldiers, but by bishops, abbots and presbyters—a numerous train of the tonsured ones[1]. There were three great divisions of the Saxon people, the Angarii in the middle of the country, the Westfali on their western, the Ostfali on their eastern border. Charles marched against the Angarii, laid waste their land with fire and sword, and took their stronghold, Eresburg on the Diemel.

Destruction of the Irminsul. From thence he marched to the Irminsul, a gigantic tree-trunk in a dense forest, which had been fashioned into a resemblance of the ash Yggdrasil of the Edda, the supporter and sustainer of the universe, and which was the object of the idolatrous veneration of the Saxons. Having hewn down the tree-idol he remained three days near the scene of his triumph. But a great drought prevailed in the land, and the army suffered grievously for want of water. The drought might be interpreted by the outraged idolaters as evidence of the anger of the gods; but the torrent which burst forth from the mountain's side and saved the whole army from perishing of thirst was a clear indication that the Christian's God was mightier than they. In these labours and dangers the campaigning season of 772 passed away: Charles having carried his standards triumphantly to the Weser, returned to Austrasia and celebrated his Christmas at Heristal in Brabant. The months of February and March (773) he spent at the *villa* of Theodo in the valley of the Moselle, sixteen miles north of Metz.

The Pope's messenger at Thionville, 773. To this place (which is now called Thionville by the French and Diedenhofen by the Germans), in one of those winter months at the beginning of 773, came

[1] Life of Sturm, c. 22 (Pertz, Monumenta, ii. 376).

the Pope's messenger Peter[1], with a piteous cry for help. Embassy after embassy had been sent in vain to Desiderius to beseech him to restore the captured cities, and had only been answered by further outrages on the Roman territory and by an announcement of his determination to march upon Rome itself. So closely were the roads beset that Peter found it necessary to make his journey by sea from the mouth of the Tiber to Marseilles.

Desiderius marches on Rome, March (?), 773.

Even while Peter was pleading the Papal cause at Thionville, Desiderius in fulfilment of his threat was moving towards Rome. Taking with him his son Adelchis, who had been for more than thirteen years the partner of his throne[2], and the widow and children of Carloman with their counsellor Autchar, he marched southward at the head of his army[3]. He sent forward his messengers, Andrew and two other Lombard nobles, to inform the Pope of his approach, and received the answer, already repeated to weariness, 'Unless he first repairs the wrongs done to St. Peter, he shall not be admitted to my presence.' Still Desiderius pressed forward, and it seemed clear that an armed invasion of the *Ducatus Romae* was imminent. In Roman Tuscany, in Campania, and in Perugia, something like a *levée en masse* was made, and even from the cities of the Pentapolis[4], notwithstanding the

[1] The name of this messenger is not mentioned by the Papal biographer, but is given us by the Annales Laurissenses.

[2] Adelchis was associated in the kingship with his father between the 6th and 20th of August, 759 (see Oelsner, p. 440).

[3] This expedition of Desiderius was probably undertaken in March, 773.

[4] 'Universum populum Tusciae, Campaniae et ducatus Perusini' [this special mention of the duchy of Perugia is noteworthy] 'et aliquantos de civibus Pentapoleos.'

BK. VIII. CH. 13. 773. presence of the Lombard garrisons, some men came to help in the defence of the threatened pontiff. The two great basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, being without the gates, were emptied of their most costly treasures, which were brought within the City, and the doors of St. Peter's were closed and barred with iron, to prevent the Lombard king from entering the church, as he probably intended, in order to carry the election of an anti-pope and the anointing by him of the infant princes[1]. The great gates of the City had already some months before been closed, and small wicket-gates had been opened in them for the passage to and fro of the citizens[2].

Having made all these material preparations, Hadrian began to ply the spiritual artillery which had so often proved the best defence of Rome. Three ecclesiastics, the bishops of Albano, Palestrina and Tivoli, sallied forth from the City to the Lombard camp, which was fixed at Viterbo, fifty miles from Rome, and there presented to Desiderius the Pope's 'word of anathema, protesting against him by that word of command and exhortation, and adjuring him by all the divine mysteries that he should by no means presume to enter the territories of the Romans, nor to tread their soil, neither he nor any of the Lombards, nor yet Autchar the Frank.'

Wonderful to relate, this 'word of anathema' was sufficient to foil the whole scheme of invasion. 'As

[1] The biographer does not expressly state that this was the design of Desiderius, but his language suggests the probability of the conjecture.

[2] I suppose this is the biographer's meaning when he says, 'Sanctissimus Pontifex portas civitatis Romanae claudi jussit et alias ex eis fabricari fecit' (Lib. Pont. p. 493).

soon as he had received this word of command from the aforesaid bishops, Desiderius returned immediately with great reverence and full of confusion from the city of Viterbo to his own home.' Either he had overrated his own and his soldiers' courage in the face of the terrors of hell with which he and they were threatened, or he found that the *levée en masse* of Roman citizens would make his task more difficult than he had anticipated, or at last when too late he shrank from encountering the wrath of the Frankish king. For Charles was now evidently at liberty to attend to the affairs of Italy. In reply to the embassy of Peter he despatched three envoys to Rome, the bishop George, the abbot Gulfard, and his own intimate friend[1] Albuin, to enquire into the truth of the Pope's charges against Desiderius. These men satisfied themselves that the Lombard king's assertions that he had already restored the cities and satisfied all the just claims of St. Peter were impudently false. They heard from his own lips the surly statement that he would restore nothing at all, and with this answer they returned to their master, who was probably at this time keeping his Easter-feast at the ancestral *villa* of Heristal. They carried also the Pope's earnest entreaties that Charles would fulfil the promises made by his father of pious memory, and complete the redemption of the Church of God by insisting on the restoration of the cities and the surrender of all the remaining territory claimed by St. Peter.

Desiderius shrinks back before the Papal anathema.

Charles's envoys to the Pope.

[1] 'Deliciosus.' Some have seen in this 'Albuinus the familiar friend of Charles,' the famous Alcuin, who was certainly also called Albinus; but though not impossible, the identification does not appear probable (cf. Abel, i. 140, n. 4).

CHAPTER XIV.

END OF THE LOMBARD MONARCHY.

Sources:—

Our only sources for this chapter are the LIBER PONTIFICALIS and the FRANKISH ANNALS, which are in the main accordant with one another. No evidence unfortunately comes from the Lombard side.

Guide:—

For the first twenty-seven years of the reign of Charlemagne a very useful and impartial guide is furnished us by Bartolomeo *Malfatti* in the second volume of his 'Imperatori e Papi' (1876). He worked on a large scale, and his book, had it come down to the period of the contest on Investitures, would have been a most valuable contribution to European history. Unhappily the work was cut short at 795 by the premature death of the author.

BK. VIII. CH. 14.

AT last the reign of the shifty and perfidious Desiderius was to come to an end. He had climbed to the throne by the help of a Pope whom he had deluded with vain promises. He had maintained himself thereon for sixteen years by a policy cunningly compounded of force and fraud. Now the day of reckoning was come.

Unpopularity of Desiderius with his own nation.

Though we have really no Lombard history of this period—alas for the silent voice of the national historian Paulus—we have sufficient indications that the reign of Desiderius was unpopular with many of his subjects, and we may conjecture that the whole state

was honeycombed by domestic treason. In November, 772, the young King Adelchis, enthroned in Brescia, signed a document by which he conveyed to the monastery of St. Saviour 'all the property and serfs[1] of Augino, who has revolted and fled to Frank-land,' together with all the farms, territories and serfs of eight other proprietors whose names are mentioned, and of other their accomplices, 'which they have lost for their disloyalty and which have thus become the property of our palace[2].' BK. VIII. CH. 14.

We hear also of the avowed disaffection of Anselm, formerly duke of Friuli, who in 749 had laid down his ducal dignity, had assumed the monk's cowl, and had founded the monastery of Nonantula, a few miles north-east of Modena[3]. Banished and proscribed by Desiderius, he was now living in retirement at Monte Cassino, but was using all the power which he had acquired by his deserved reputation for holiness to shake the throne of his royal antagonist. As he was a brother of Giseltruda, Aistulf's queen, we have in Anselm's disgrace probably another indication of the ill-will which existed between the families of the two last kings of the Lombards.

Anselm, abbot of Nonantula.

767 (?).

[1] 'Familiae.'

[2] Troya, v. 715 (quoted by Abel, p. 138, who decides for the date 772 against 773 favoured by Troya). The names of the other traitors are Sesennus, Raidolf, Radwald, Stabilis, Coard (?), Ansahel, Gotefrid and Theodosius.

[3] The date 749 is apparently given by the biographer for Anselm's retirement from the world, 751 for his foundation of the monastery of Nonantula, and 753 for the commencement of his rule over it as abbot (see Vita Anselmi in Rerum Langobardicarum Scriptores, apud M. H. G. 567 and 569. See also Abel, p. 186). His seven years' exile from Nonantula is mentioned, not in the Vita, but in the Catalogus Abbatum (Ibid. p. 571).

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773. Charles, before making war, tries diplomacy.

All these elements of weakness in the Lombard state were doubtless known to Charles, when, after deliberation with his Franks, probably at the Field of May, he determined to follow his father's example and invade Italy in the service of St. Peter. A levy of the nation in arms was ordered, and while it was proceeding Charles, still treading in his father's footsteps, sought by diplomacy to render the war needless. We are told that he offered Desiderius 14,000 *solidi* of gold, besides an [unnamed] quantity of gold and silver [vessels[1]], if he would comply with the demands of Hadrian. The transaction looks suspiciously like a duplication of the similar offer of Pippin[2], but if the offer was ever made, it was this time also ineffectual. 'Neither by prayers nor by gifts did Charles avail to bend the most ferocious heart' of Desiderius.

The campaign opened.

The Frankish host was mustered at Geneva, and Charles then proceeded, according to a favourite strategic plan of his, to divide his army into two portions, one of which, under the command of his uncle Bernhard, was to march by the pass of the mountain of Jupiter, now called the Greater St. Bernard, while Charles himself was to lead the other over the Mont Cenis.

Charles meets with a check.

What next followed is told us in meagre and confused fashion by the annalists on one side and the Papal biographer on the other; and it is only by the help of one or two conjectures that we can combine the details into any harmonious picture. With that aid

[1] 'Promittens insuper ei tribui quatuordecim millia auri solidorum, quantitatem in auro atque argento' (Vita Hadriani).

[2] But is it possible that what was now in question was the return of a sum paid as the marriage-portion of Desiderata?

the story may be thus narrated. As before, there was no fighting on the actual summits of the passes, but Desiderius prepared to meet the invaders in the narrow gorges on the Italian side before they had got clear of the mountains. He himself advanced from Susa to meet King Charles, while his son Adelchis[1], marching from Ivrea, awaited the approach of Bernhard. When Charles descended toward the valley of the Dora he found his further progress barred not only by the Lombard army, but by walls which they had built and by warlike engines commanding the pass[2]. To force his way through seemed so difficult an enterprise that he again tried the path of diplomacy. He renewed his offer of the 14,000 *solidi* if Desiderius would restore the conquered cities. When this offer was refused he reduced his demand. Without the actual restoration of the cities he would be satisfied with the surrender of three hostages, sons of Lombard nobles[3], as a pledge for their future restitution. This too was met with a surly negative by Desiderius, and thereupon the young Frankish king was actually about to turn back and re-ascend the mountain. A dangerous enterprise surely with an embittered foe behind him! The question was then probably trembling in the balance whether the name of Charles the Great should ever be heard of in European history. But just at this crisis, on the very eve of the intended retreat, a panic seized the host of Desiderius. They

[1] This is a conjecture.

[2] 'Jam dictus vero Desiderius et universa Longobardorum exercituum multitudo ad resistendum fortiter in ipsis clusis assistebant, quas fabricis et diversis maceriis curiosè munire nisi sunt' (Vita Hadriani).

[3] 'Longobardorum judicum filios.'

BK. VIII. CH. 14.

773.

Panic of the Lombards.

left their tents, with all the stores that they contained, and fled in terror down the valley, at first pursued by no man, but soon followed by the Frankish soldiers, who slew numbers of them, though Desiderius and his nobles succeeded in making their escape to Pavia.

Their position probably turned by Bernhard.

What was the cause of this sudden terror? Almost certainly the advance of Bernhard, who had succeeded in eluding or defeating Adelchis, and now, advancing on the flank of the army of Desiderius, threatened to cut them off from Pavia. The strategic operation planned by Charles, involving an attack by two converging hosts on an enemy in the centre of the circle, is admitted to be a very dangerous one for the assailant, but when it succeeds, the effect is crushing. It was the consciousness that they were thus utterly outmanœuvred which drove Desiderius and his men in headlong rout down the valley [1].

[1] As previously stated, the story of the battle given above is obtained by combining two independent narratives, a dangerous but sometimes a necessary process. The Papal biographer says nothing about the division of Charles's army, but mentions the walls and machines blocking the pass, the pacific overtures of the Frankish king and his impending retreat, and then describes the sudden and apparently causeless terror of Adelchis and the other Lombards, and the headlong flight of Desiderius. The narrative seems modelled on the story in 2 Kings, chap. vii, of the flight of the Syrian host from Samaria, and suggests, though it does not expressly claim, a miraculous interposition on behalf of Charles.

The Annales Laurissenses and Einhardi mention the division of the army, and state that Charles earned a bloodless victory, but say nothing about his previous discouragement. The weak point of the suggested combination is that Annales Laurissenses, after mentioning the division of the army and the arrival of both portions at the passes, go on to say that Charles 'misit scaram suam per montana.' This does not exactly suit the idea of the panic

Charles now meeting no obstacle in his onward march, in the beginning of October commenced the siege of Pavia. Seeing, however, that it was likely to be a long and tedious affair he returned to Frankland, and fetched from thence his girl-wife Hildegard, an Alamannian lady of noble birth, only thirteen years of age, whom he had married immediately after his repudiation of Desiderata. She came with her infant son Charles and with his half-brother Pippin, the son of the first of all Charles's wives, Himiltrud. A boy of some seven or eight years old, probably, was this Pippin, born apparently to high destinies, but unhappily deformed in his person. The family affection, conspicuous in the Teutonic conquerors of Rome, shows itself in this young Austrasian warrior Charles, who must have his wife and children beside him if he is to endure the weariness of the long blockade of Pavia.

BK. VIII. CH. 14.

Siege of Pavia begun, Oct. 773.

That blockade occupied eventually more than eight months, but not all of that time was spent by Charles himself before the walls of the city on the Ticino. When he learned that Adelchis, son of Desiderius and partner of his throne, had fled with Gerberga and her sons to Verona, Charles marched thither with a chosen band of Frankish warriors, and, notwithstanding the strong position of Verona, appears to have taken it without much difficulty. Gerberga and her sons, with their chief adviser Autchar, surrendered themselves

Charles takes Verona.

being caused by the appearance of Bernhard's division. Some difficulty has also arisen from the words 'et tunc ambo exercitus ad clusas se conjungentes,' since it was impossible for the two divisions to unite before penetrating the passes: but Simson shows quite convincingly that 'se conjungentes,' according to the usage of the annalists, means only 'arriving at the passes,' not 'joining at the passes.'

BK. VIII. CH. 14.

773.

Doubtful fate of Gerberga and her sons.

at once to Charles. All of them at this point vanish from history: a fact which may be interpreted differently according to our estimate of the character of the conqueror. To me, considering the clemency with which Charles usually treated his vanquished foes, it seems probable that all their lives were spared, though it is not unlikely that Gerberga and Autchar were recommended to embrace the monastic life, and that the sons were educated for the service of the Church [1]. As for Adelchis, he escaped from Verona and began that life of wandering and exile which was his portion for the remainder of his days. Charles returned to the upper valley of the Po, and took many cities of the Lombards without relinquishing his grasp on Pavia [2].

'Commendation' of the men of Spoleto to the Pope.

Meanwhile, or perhaps even before some of the events just related, important political changes had been taking place in Central Italy. When it was seen that the throne of Desiderius was tottering, the Lombards of Spoleto, who had probably never heartily accepted the sovereignty of the Tuscan upstart, pro-

[1] The statement that one of them, Syagrius, became bishop of Nice and received the honour of canonisation, appears to rest on insufficient authority. See Malfatti, Imperatori e Papi, ii. 86-87, quoting 'Barralis, Chronologia Insulae Lerinensis,' p. 132.

[2] In placing the capture of Verona at this time, I follow, though with some hesitation, the order of time indicated by the Liber Pontificalis. On the authority of a deed dated at Verona, 'regn. dns. Desideriom et Adelchis annis regni eorum octabo decimo et quinto decimo per Ind. duodecima (774) de mense Abrile,' both Maffei (Verona Illustrata, ii. p. 505, ed. 1825) and Malfatti (Imperatori e Papi, ii. 87) postpone the capture of Verona till after Charles's visit to Rome. But would not the notaries go on using the regnal years of Desiderius and Adelchis until the capture of Pavia and the actual fall of the Lombard kingdom? (The deed is given by Troya, v. 726.)

ceeded to make terms for themselves with him who seemed now likely to become the most powerful of Italian princes, the Bishop of Rome. 'The leading men of Spoleto and Rieti,' says the biographer, 'ere yet Desiderius and his Lombards had arrived at the Alpine passes, fleeing for refuge to St. Peter, handed themselves over to Pope Hadrian, swore fealty to the Prince of the Apostles and the most holy Pope, and were tonsured after the manner of the Romans[1].' Their example, we are told, would have been followed by all the inhabitants of the Spoletan duchy, but they were restrained by fear of Desiderius. After his defeat and flight to Pavia, and when his Spoletan soldiers had returned home, 'immediately the whole body of inhabitants of the various cities of the duchy of Spoleto streamed together into the presence of the lovely pontiff[2], and rolling themselves at his feet earnestly besought his holy Thrice-Blessedness that he would receive them into the service of St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, and would cause them to be tonsured after the manner of the Romans.' Pope Hadrian marched with his new subjects to St. Peter's, administered the sacrament, received their oath of fidelity for themselves and their remotest descendants, gave them the desired Roman tonsure, and 'appointed them a duke whom they themselves had chosen of their own free will, to wit the most noble Hildeprand, who

773.

[1] 'More Romanorum tonsurati sunt.' I think we have no precise information how the Roman coiffure differed from that of the Lombards. It is made a complaint against Liutprand by the author of the life of Gregory III that 'multos nobiles de Romanis more Langobardorum totondit atque vestivit' (Lib. Pont. i. 420).

[2] 'Ad praefatum almificum pontificem confluentes advenerunt.'

BK. VIII. Ch. 14.

had previously taken refuge with the rest [of his followers] at the Apostolic See[1].'

773. Other cities follow the example of Spoleto.

At the same time, the citizens of Fermo, Osimo and Ancona, at the southern end of the Pentapolis, and the Tuscan town of Castellum Felicitatis[2], west of the Apennines, submitted themselves in similar manner to the Pope and his successors. Well may the biographer describe with exultation the extension of the Papal territory which Hadrian had thus obtained by his own unaided efforts[3]. The commendation—for such the above transaction seems to have been—of the great duchy of Spoleto and the annexation of the other cities just mentioned, gave to the dominions of St. Peter the shape and extent which they retained down to our own day. The Adriatic provinces were now joined to the *Ducatus Romae*, not by the slender and precarious thread of Perugia and the Via Flaminia alone: a solid block of territory covering both sides of the Apennines and including the old Roman province of Picenum now gave roundness and symmetry to

[1] What became of the previous duke, Theodicius, we are not informed. The Regesto di Farfa (Nos. xcvii and c) shows that he was still reigning in Sept. 773, and that Hildeprand had succeeded in the early part of 774 (Sansi, 'I Duchi di Spoleto,' 62). The mode of dating the latter document is interesting, and confirms the statement of the Papal biographer. It is expressed as being 'temporibus ter beatissimi et coangelici domni Adriani pontificis et universalis Papae.' Probably had it been after June, 774, there would have been at least some allusion to 'Carolus Rex Langobardorum.'

[2] Now Città di Castello; known in classical times as Tifernum. Pliny the Younger, whose villa was situated near this town, built in it a temple to Felicity, from which the above name was derived. The cathedral now stands on the site of the temple. It is on the left bank of the Tiber, about thirty miles from its source.

[3] 'Suo certamine.'

774.

dominions which reached, nominally at any rate, from Ferrara in the north to Terracina in the south, a distance in a straight line of some two hundred and twenty miles.

Charles's visit to Rome, Easter 774.

The winter passed away, Easter-tide was approaching, and Charles, who had probably a wider mental horizon than Pippin, determined to visit that great metropolis of Christendom which his father had never seen. Leaving of course all the working part of his army encamped round beleaguered Pavia, he started with a brilliant train of dukes, counts, bishops and abbots, and a sufficient body-guard of soldiers, on the road through Tuscany to Rome. He marched in haste, and was within a day's journey of the City, ere Hadrian heard of his arrival. 'Falling into an ecstasy of great astonishment,' the Pope directed all the magistrates of the City to go thirty miles along the north-western road to meet the great Patrician. They met him at the place called Ad Novas, the third station on the Via Clodia, near the shores of Lake Bracciano [1], and here they presented him with a standard [2], probably such an one as St. Peter is represented as granting 'Carulo Regi' in the mosaic outside the Lateran.

At one mile from the City the Pope had ordered that the illustrious visitor should be met by all the regiments of the little army of the *Ducatus Romae* [3],

[1] So much can be certainly stated as to the position of Ad Novas on the authority of the Tabula Peutingeriana and the Geographer of Ravenna. The precise identification with the ruins a mile east of Trevignano, mentioned by Duchesne (L. P. i. 516), seems to me an improbable one, as that site is on the north shore of the lake, and the Via Clodia evidently went along the south of it.

[2] 'Bandora.'

[3] 'Scolas militiae.'

BK. VIII. CH. 14. 774. together with their officers[1], and the boys who had come to Rome, probably from all the countries of the Christian West, to learn the language of the Church[2]. The great crosses, which were, so to speak, the standards of the Church, were brought forth, as was the custom when an Exarch or Patrician entered Rome. All the Romans, men and boys alike, sang hymns of praise, in which Charles's Frankish soldiers joined with their deep Teutonic voices. As soon as Charles saw the crosses being borne towards him, he alighted from his horse, and in lowly pedestrian fashion, with the nobles who followed his example, accomplished the rest of the journey. And now the venerable basilica of St. Peter—a building utterly unlike the domed Renaissance temple of Bramante and Michael Angelo rose before them on the Vatican hill, and there in the long *atrium* outside the doors of the church stood Pope Hadrian and all his clergy, who had risen at early dawn to welcome their great deliverer. At the foot of the hill King Charles knelt down, assuredly in no feigned reverence, but overcome with emotion at the sight of the long dreamed of sanctuary, and kissed each step that led up to the crowded *atrium*. When he reached the summit, King and Pope clasped one another in a loving embrace—no Byzantine prostration of the ecclesiastic before his sovereign, no Hildebrandine abasement of the sovereign before the ecclesiastic—and so, while Charles cordially grasped the right hand of Hadrian, they together entered 'the venerable hall of St. Peter, Prince of Apostles,' all the clergy and brethren of the monastic orders

Scene at St. Peter's, April 2, 774.

[1] 'Patroni.'

[2] 'Pueris qui ad didicendas (*sic*) literas pergebant.'

chanting the while with loud voices, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.'

774.

Appearance of the two men—

Let us pause for a moment to gaze at the figures of the two men, the highest types in their day of the old Roman and the new Teutonic civilisation, who accomplish this fateful meeting on the steps of St. Peter's basilica. Hadrian, a Roman of the Romans, sprung of a noble stock, born almost under the shadow of the mausoleum of Augustus, bearing the name of the most artistic of Roman Emperors, 'elegant and very graceful in person,' but a man of indomitable will and of courage that had never quailed before the threats of the brutal Desiderius—this man, as worthily as Leo or as Gregory, represents the old heroic spirit of the men of Romulus, transformed yet hardly softened by the teachings of the Man of Nazareth.

Hadrian

And Carl, not the majestic yet somewhat out-worn Emperor of medieval romance, but a young and lusty warrior who has not reached the half-way house of life[1]. The very name of this grandson of Charles Martel has a Teutonic ring in it, and reminds us of the day when the unmannerly messenger burst into the second Pippin's presence as he was sitting by the solemn Plectrude and shouted out 'It is a Carl[2].' But though he is Teuton and Austrasian to the core, a descendant of untold generations of Rhine-land warrior-chiefs, and though the Frankish lawless love of women stains many pages of his history, he never forgets that he is also the descendant of the sainted Arnulf of Metz, and that his father was crowned by the not less saintly Boniface. The welfare of the Church is dear to his heart. If he be not a pattern

and Charles.

[1] Charles was probably thirty-two in 774. [2] See p. 49.

BK. VIII. CH. 14. 774. of morality himself, he will not tolerate immorality in that Church's ministers. He has perhaps already begun to read the book which will be the delight of his middle life and old age, Augustine's great treatise 'On the City of God'; and with the help of this great Roman, the Vicar of Peter, he has visions of one day bringing that city down to dwell on the earth, such wide spaces of which are subject to his rule.

A word as to the personal appearance of the great Austrasian. He was of commanding stature, probably not less than six feet five in height[1]. His nose was long, his eyes large and sparkling, his face bright and cheerful. His hair, which when Einhard drew his picture was 'beautiful in whiteness,' we may imagine to have been at this time golden in hue, descending in long curls to his shoulders. His gait, even when he was an old man, was firm and martial: how much more when he now for the first time trod the soil of Italy at the head of his Frankish warriors.

Such were the two men who on Holy Saturday, the 2nd of April, 774, met in the *atrium* of St. Peter's. They marched together up the long nave, followed by all the bishops, abbots and nobles of the Franks, drew nigh to the *confessio*[2] of the Apostle, and there, prostrate before the relics of the saint, offered up their loud thanksgivings to Almighty God for the victory which had been wrought by his intercession. Prayer

[1] Einhard tells us that his height was equivalent to seven times the length of his foot. Evidently this information is imperfect, till we know what that length was. But eleven inches is the usual size of a man's foot, and this would give six feet five inches for Charles's stature.

[2] The altar raised over a martyr's tomb: originally the place where he 'witnessed a good confession.'

being ended, Charles humbly besought the pontiff for leave to worship at the various churches in Rome. It was not the Patrician, come to set in order the affairs of the City, but the pilgrim from across the Alps come for the healing of his soul, who preferred this lowly request. Then they all went down the steps into the crypt and stood by the actual (or alleged) body of the Apostle, while Pope, King, and nobles gave and received solemn oaths of mutual fidelity.

We need not follow the enthusiastic biographer through his minutely-detailed description of the ceremonies which followed this 'joyous entry' of Charles into the City of Rome. On Saturday, the numerous baptisms usual on this day of the Calendar were administered by the Pope at the Lateran basilica. On Easter Sunday, a great presentation of Roman magistrates and officers to Charles was followed by a mass at S. Maria Maggiore, and then by a banquet at the Lateran palace. On Monday there was mass at St. Peter's, and on Tuesday at St. Paul's. But on Wednesday there was enacted, if the Papal scribe speaks truth, that great event the Donation of Charles to Hadrian, an event of such transcendent importance that the biographer must be allowed to tell it in his own words :—

774. The great Donation as described by Hadrian's biographer.

'Now on the fourth day of the week [April 6, 774] the aforesaid Pope, with his officers both of Church and State, had an interview with the King in the church of St. Peter, when he earnestly besought and with fatherly affection exhorted him to fulfil in every particular the promise which his father, the late King Pippin of holy memory, and Charles himself with his brother Carloman and all the Frankish nobles, had

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made to St. Peter and his vicar Pope Stephen II on the occasion of his journey into Frank-land: this promise being that divers cities and territories of that province of Italy should be handed over to St. Peter and his vicars for a perpetual possession. And when Charles had caused this promise which was made at Carisiacum in Frank-land to be read over to him, he and his nobles expressed their entire approval of all things therein contained. Then, of his own accord, with good and willing mind, that most excellent and truly Christian Charles, king of the Franks, ordered another promise of gift like the former one to be drawn up by his chaplain and notary, Etherius. Hereby he granted the same cities and territories to St. Peter, and promised that they should be handed over to the pontiff, according to their defined boundaries, as is shown by the contents of the same donation, to wit, *from Luna with the isle of Corsica, thence to Surianum, thence to Mount Bardo, that is to Vercetum, thence to Parma, thence to Rhegium, and from thence to Mantua and Mons Silicis, together with the whole exarchate of Ravenna, as it was of old, and the provinces of the Venetiae and Istria; together with the whole duchy of Spoletium and that of Beneventum.* And having made this donation and confirmed it with his own hand, the most Christian king of the Franks caused all the bishops, abbots, dukes and counts to sign it also. Then placing it first on the altar of St. Peter, and afterwards within, in his holy *confessio*, the king and all his nobles promised St. Peter and his vicar Pope Hadrian, under the sanction of a terrible oath, that they would maintain his right to all the territories included in that donation. Another copy

thereof, by order of the most Christian king, was made by Etherius, and to keep alive the eternal memory of his own name and the Frankish kingdom, was placed by Charles's own hands upon the body of St. Peter under the gospels which it is the custom to kiss in that place. Certain other copies of the same donation made by the *bureau*[1] of our Holy Roman Church were carried away by his Excellency.' BK. VIII. CH. 14. 774.

Extent of this donation.

By this transaction on the 6th of April, 774, if the Papal biographer is to be believed, the bishop of Rome became the actual or expectant sovereign of two-thirds of Italy[2]. Actual or expectant, I say, because some part of the territory thus assigned was still in the hands of the Lombards, and yet more because the provinces of Venetia and Istria still, probably, owed allegiance to the Emperor Constantine. But in fact all enquirers who have carefully considered the question admit the impossibility of reconciling this alleged donation with the facts of history. The Pope of Rome never, we may confidently assert, was (as this donation would have made him) lord of all Italy with the exception of Piedmont, Lombardy, the immediate neighbourhood of Naples, and Calabria. The explanations of the difficulty are numerous. Forgery by the biographer, interpolation by a later hand, forgery by a papal scribe, misunderstanding by the unlettered Frank, confusion between ownership of estates and lordship of territories, an early surrender by the Pope of rights which he found himself unable to maintain—

Impossibility of accepting it as genuine.

[1] 'Scrinium.'

[2] An approximate calculation, based on the extent of the provinces of modern Italy, gives 68,000 square miles for the regions included in the donation, and 36,500 for those which were excluded.

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all these solutions of the enigma have been suggested. For a slight and far from exhaustive discussion of the subject I must refer to a note at the end of this chapter. Only this much may be said at the present point, that the more completely the reader can banish from his mind the thought that in 774 Charles the Frank deliberately and of set purpose made Pope Hadrian sovereign of two-thirds of Italy and of the island of Corsica, the easier will he find it to follow the events of the next quarter of a century.

Fall of Pavia, June, 774.

From Rome the Frankish king soon returned to Pavia, where the long siege was drawing to a close. Disease was rife within the city, and more men fell under its ravages than by the sword of the enemy. At last on a Tuesday in the month of June [1] the city surrendered, and Desiderius with his wife Ansa and a daughter whose name we know not became prisoners of the Frankish king. Recent events might well have embittered Charles against his Lombard father-in-law, but he displayed his usual clemency, and sparing his life sent him, apparently accompanied by the two royal ladies, to the monastery of Corbie in Picardy [2], the same holy house to which young Adal-

Fate of Desiderius.

[1] It does not seem possible to fix the date more accurately than this. Annales Laureshamenses (and other chronicles) say that it was 'in mense Junio.' Catalogus Regum Langobardorum, &c. says it was 'die Martis.' The Tuesdays in June, 774, would be the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th: the Dominical letter for that year being B.

[2] According to the Annales Lobienses (Pertz, ii. 195) he was sent 'ad locum qui dicitur pausatio Sancti Lantberti martyris,' which is identified with Liège. The Annales Lobienses are a poor tenth-century authority closely connected with the diocese of Liège, which may from one point of view increase, from another diminish, their trustworthiness as to this fact.

hard had retired when he refused to connive at the repudiation of the Lombard princess Desiderata, and of which he was one day to be the venerated abbot. Here, we are told [1], the exiled king remained till the day of his death, passing his time in prayers and watchings and fastings, and many other good works. His wife, who had always been a zealous builder of churches and monasteries, doubtless shared this pious ending to that which had been in her husband's case a troubled and somewhat ignoble career.

Saga as to the fall of Pavia.

The reader has now before him the historic facts, as far as they are known, concerning the siege and fall of Pavia. He may be amused by seeing the transformation which, in the course of a century, these facts had undergone in the hands of monastic rhapsodists.

'There was in the court of Desiderius,' wrote the Monk of St. Gall [2] (in the book on the deeds of Charles which he dedicated to his great-grandson [3]), 'a chief minister of King Charles named Otker [4], who having incurred his master's displeasure sought a refuge among the Lombards. When the war had broken out and the approach of Charles was expected, Desiderius and Otker together ascended a tower which commanded a very wide view. When the baggage waggons drew near which would have not misbeseemed the expeditions of Darius or Julius, Desiderius said to Otker, "Is Charles in this mighty army?" "Not yet," said Otker. The rank and file of soldiers collected from so many lands appeared: then the corps of guards, for ever intent on their duty: then the

[1] Annales Sangallenses. [2] Between 883 and 887.
[3] Lib. ii. cap. 17. [4] Otkerus: possibly meant for Autchar.

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bishops, abbots and chaplains with their trains. At the sight of each successive company Desiderius asked, "Is not Charles with these?" and [for some unexplained reason] the appearance of the ecclesiastics filled him with more overmastering fear than all the rest, so that he longed to leave his tower and hide himself under ground from the face of so terrible an enemy. But Otker said to him, "When you see an iron harvest bristling in the plain, and these rivers Po and Ticino which surround your walls black with the reflection of iron-clad warriors, then know that Charles is at hand." Even while he spoke a dark cloud from north and west seemed to overshadow the light of day. But then as the monarch drew nearer, the reflection from his soldiers' arms made a new daylight more terrible than night[1]. Then appeared that man of iron, Charles himself, with iron helmet, gauntlets and breastplate[2], with an iron spear held erect by his left hand, for his right was ever stretched forth to his unconquered sword: the outer surfaces of his thighs, which for ease in mounting on horseback are with other men left bare, with him were encircled in rings of iron. Why speak of his greaves, for they, like those of all the rest of his army, were iron? Of iron too was his shield; and his iron-grey horse had the strength as well as the colour of that metal. Him, the great leader, all who went before, all who flowed round him on each side, all who followed him, imitated

[1] I paraphrase, 'Sed propiante paululum imperatore ex armorum splendore dies omni nocte tenebrosior oborta est inclusis.'

[2] 'Ferreâ thorace ferreum pectus humerosque Platonicos tutatus.' Probably 'Platonicos' simply means 'broad'; from some dim remembrance of the Greek πλατύς. The Athenian philosopher would have marvelled at this use of his name.

to the utmost of their power. The iron river filled all the plain, reflected the rays of the sun, struck terror into the pale watchers on the walls. "O the iron! alas for the iron!" so rose the confused murmur of the citizens. All these things I, a toothless and stammering old man, have told you at far greater length than I should have done, but then he, the truthful sentinel Otker, took them all in at a glance, and turning to Desiderius said to him, "Lo, now you have him whom you so earnestly desired to behold"; whereupon Desiderius fell fainting to the ground.'

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The Monk then goes on to describe how, as there were still some among the citizens of Pavia who refused to open the gates to the Franks, Charles in order that the day might not pass over without some worthy deed, ordered his men to build a basilica in which they might render service to Almighty God outside the walls, if they could not do so within them. So said, so done. The men dispersed in all directions, some seeking stones, some lime for mortar, some timber, some paints and painters, and thus setting to work at the fourth hour of the day, before the twelfth hour thereof 'they had erected such a basilica, with walls and roofs, with ceilings and pictures all complete, that no one who looked upon it would have supposed that it could have been built in less than a twelvemonth.'

After this, that party among the citizens which was in favour of surrender prevailed, and on the fifth day of the siege, without shedding a drop of blood, Charles was master of the city.

Thus with the lapse of three generations had the

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story of the siege of Pavia been transformed, and the long and weary blockade of eight months' duration had become changed into a sudden capture, caused by the magic of his presence, a capture almost as marvellous and quite as unhistorical as the building in eight hours of the suburban basilica.

Causes of Charles's success.

Passing from the realm of Saga, we are forced to ask ourselves the question why it was that the Lombard power went down so easily before the impact of the Franks. We ask, but our materials are so scanty that we must be contented with a most imperfect answer. We have seen that there were treachery and disunion in the Lombard camp, and that, from some disadvantage of birth or defects of character, Desiderius failed to win for himself the loyalty of the whole Lombard people. Moreover, throughout the two centuries of their history the 'centrifugal' tendency, which was the bane of so many of the new Teutonic states, was fatally manifest in the Lombard nation. Benevento and Spoleto were always bound by a very loose tie to Pavia, and at the least provocation Trient and Friuli were ready to fly off from the central power. Then there was probably the same want of cohesion between the Teutonic and the Latin elements of the population which led to the early downfall of the Burgundian and Visigothic kingdoms. The condition of the Roman *aldius* may have been, probably was, far better under Desiderius than under Alboin or Authari, but still he felt himself to be a subject where his fathers had been lords, and he saw no reason why he should fight for the maintenance of Lombard supremacy. To this must be added the inextinguishable and to us inexplicable animosity of the Church,

to which, however orthodox their profession of faith, however lavish their gifts to convent and cathedral, the Lombards were still the same 'most unspeakable, most foul and stinking' race that they had been at their first entrance into Italy. Assuredly in this case the antipathy was one of race rather than of religion. The ecclesiastic who was perhaps the son of a Roman *aldius* hated the man 'who dressed his hair after the manner of the Lombards,' not now as a heretic, but as the descendant of the invaders who had reduced his fathers to slavery.

And lastly, but perhaps not of least importance, we may suggest that the influence of climate was not unimportant in weakening the fibre of Lombard manhood. The soldiers of Alboin came, fresh and hardy, from the forests of the Danube and the glens of Noricum (very different countries assuredly from the pleasant lands which now represent them); they came into the softer climate of a land whose thousand years of civilisation not all the ravages of the barbarians had availed wholly to obliterate. They came, they enjoyed, and probably they lost some of their ancient manhood.

Whatever the cause, it must be admitted that there is something which disappoints us in the meagrely-told tale of the downfall of the kingdom of the Lombards. Herein they differ from the Anglo-Saxons, their old neighbours, with whose history their own for so many years ran parallel. In both nations there was for long the same want of cohesion (till the Church, the enemy of Lombard unity, accomplished the unity of England); in both there was the same slackness, the same tendency to procras-

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tination, the same absence of wide and far-seeing statesmanship. But the old Anglo-Saxon battle-songs found a fitting close on the well-fought field of Senlac, while the course of Lombard history trickled out to an unworthy end amid the famine and fever of Pavia.

NOTE E. The Alleged Donation of Territory in Italy by Charles the Great to Pope Hadrian.

I. In the first place, let us have before us the actual words in which the Papal biographer records this memorable transaction: 'At vero quartâ feriâ, egressus praenominatus pontifex cum suis judicibus tam cleri quamque militiae in ecclesiâ beati Petri apostoli, pariterque cum eodem rege se loquendum conjungens, constanter eum deprecatus est atque ammonuit et paterno affectu adhortare studuit ut promissionem illam, quam ejus sanctae memoriae genitor Pippinus quondam rex et ipse praecellentissimus Carulus cum suo germanò Carulomanno atque omnibus judicibus Francorum, fecerant beato Petro et ejus vicario sanctae memoriae domno Stephano juniori papae, quando Franciam perrexit, pro concedendis diversis civitatibus ac territoriis istius Italiae provinciae et contradendis beato Petro ejusque omnibus vicariis in perpetuum possidendis, adimpleret in omnibus. Cumque ipsam promissionem, quae Franciâ in loco qui vocatur Carisiaco facta est, sibi relegi fecisset, complacuerunt illi et ejus judicibus omnia quae ibidem erant adnexa. Et propriâ voluntate, bono ac libenti animo, aliam donationis promissionem ad instar anterioris ipse antedictus praecellentissimus et revera Christianissimus Carulus Francorum rex adscribi jussit per Etherium, religiosum ac prudentissimum capellanum et notarium suum: ubi concessit easdem civitates et territoria beato Petro easque praefato pontifici contradi spopondit per designatum confinium, sicut in eadem (*sic*) donationem continere monstratur, id est: A Lunis cum insulâ Corsicâ, deinde in Suriano, deinde in monte Bardone, id est in Verceto, deinde in Parmâ, deinde in Regio: et exinde in Mantuâ atque Monte Silicis, simulque et universum exarchatum Ravennantium sicut antiquitus erat, atque provincias Venetiarum et Istria: necnon et cunctum ducatum Spolitinum seu Beneventanum. Factâque eâdem donatione et propriâ suâ manu eam ipse Christianissimus Francorum rex eam conroborans, universos episcopos, abbates, duces etiam et grafiones in eâ

Vita Hadriani, xli-xliii.

NOTE E. adscribi fecit: quam prius super altare beati Petri et postmodum intus in sanctâ ejus confessione ponentes, tam ipse Francorum rex quamque ejus judices, beato Petro et ejus vicario sanctissimo Adriano papae sub terribile sacramento sese omnia conservaturos quae in eâdem donatione continentur promittentes tradiderunt. Apparem vero ipsius donationis eundem Etherium adscribi faciens ipse Christianissimus Francorum rex, intus super corpus beati Petri, subtus evangelia quae ibidem osculantur, pro firmissimâ cautelâ et aeternâ nominis sui ac regni Francorum memoriâ propriis suis manibus posuit. Aliaque ejusdem donationis exempla per scrinium hujus sanctae nostrae Romanae ecclesiae adscriptum ejus excellentia secum deportavit.'

II. As to the geographical import of the donation. The mention of Corsica is simple enough. That island at this time was possibly Lombard. At any rate it soon became part of the Frankish dominion[1]. On the mainland of Italy the boundary traced begins from the gulf of Spezzia[2], and then runs nearly due north past Sarzana (Surianum), following upward the course of the river Magra till it strides across the Apennines at La Cisa (Mons Bardonis). Thence in a more north-easterly direction past Berceto (Vercetum) to Parma: along the Via Emilia for a short distance to Reggio, and thence at right angles to its former course till it reaches Mantua. From Mantua it goes nearly east till it reaches Monselice (Mons Silicis), about fifteen miles south of Padua. From thence we must draw some conjectural line to include the two provinces of Venetia and Istria, though the mention of Monselice makes it hard to draw the line so as not to exclude the westernmost part of Venetia. When we have traced this northern frontier our work is done; for the Exarchate of Ravenna as it was anciently held (of course including the Pentapolis) and the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento practically include all Italy south of this line, unless we ought to make a reservation for the fragments of southern Italy which still belonged to the Empire, and which

[1] In 807 we find Charles sending troops to defend Corsica from the Moors (Einh. Ann. s. a.).

[2] This is probably the meaning of 'a Lunis'; Portus Lunae being the well-known name for that gulf. Luna itself, the most northerly town of the Etruscan confederacy, was probably situated about three miles south of Sarzana.

probably at this time consisted only of the territory immediately surrounding Gaeta, Naples, and Amalfi, the district which now bears the name of Calabria, and so much of the south-east of Apulia as went with the possession of Otranto—a district perhaps equivalent to the modern province of Lecce. Instead, therefore, of enumerating the portions of Italy which were included in the alleged donation, it will be simpler to consider what portions were excluded from it. They were (in modern geographical terms) Piedmont, the Riviera di Ponente and the Riviera di Levante as far as Spezzia, the late duchy of Piacenza, Lombardy north of the Po, Verona and (probably) Vicenza; Naples, Calabria, and Otranto. About two-thirds of Italy, as I have mentioned in the preceding chapter, were thus assigned to the vicars of St. Peter, and only one third was left for the Frankish King and the Empire to share between them. NOTE E.

III. Of this alleged donation, notwithstanding the statement by the biographer as to the copies deposited at Rome among the Frankish archives and elsewhere, no copy exists to-day, nor do we, I believe, ever find in any historian the slightest allusion to the production of such a copy. It is never once alluded to in the copious correspondence between Charles and Hadrian which is contained in the Codex Carolinus. And to fit it in with the course of dealing between the two powers, Frankish and Papal, during the forty years that intervened between the conquest of Italy and the death of Charles, is a task so difficult as to be all but impossible.

IV. In this dilemma various theories have been suggested, the discussion of which has filled many volumes. Here of course the discussion can be but very briefly summarised. We may divide the theories into two classes, those which uphold and those which deny the authenticity of the document contained in chapters xli to xliii of the Vita Hadriani.

A. Upholders of the authenticity.

(1) Chief among these, and entitled to speak with pre-eminent authority, must be named the Abbé L. *Duchesne*, the distinguished editor of the Liber Pontificalis. He firmly maintains[1] the authenticity and the contemporaneous character of the Vita

[1] In the Introduction to the Lib. Pont. pp. ccxxxvii–ccxlii.

NOTE E. Hadriani. The donation, wide as are its terms, is, he believes, a donation of territory, not a mere restoration of scattered 'patrimonies' violently abstracted by the Lombards. At the same time he admits, of course, that the Popes never really bore sway over the vast territories here conceded to them. He argues therefore that, after the conquest of Pavia, Charles changed his point of view. As he had now made himself king of the Lombards and was friendly to the Pope, there was no longer the same necessity for the Pope to be put in possession of such large domains in order that he might be protected against the malice of his enemies. Also Charles may have seen that now that the Lombard power was destroyed there was no longer, on the part of the Roman population, the old willingness to come under the Papal rule. These changes in his mental attitude were taking place between 774 and 781, the date of his third visit to Rome. The Pope had also been discovering that he had not the power to rule such wide domains, and that even in the Exarchate and Pentapolis he could barely hold his own against the ambitious archbishop of Ravenna. In 781 therefore (presumably) an arrangement was come to, whereby, in consideration of some material additions to the *Ducatus Romae* in Tuscia and Campania, the Pope abandoned his vast and shadowy claims under the Donation of 774, which thenceforward passed out of notice.

The theory is ingenious and explains some of the facts. It is well argued for by Duchesne, but I find it difficult to believe that such an enormous abandonment of well-ascertained Papal rights would ever have been made, or being made would have left no trace in the Papal-Frankish correspondence.

(2) Another theory, which is advocated by Prof. Theodor *Lindner*[1] with more elaboration but less lucidity than by Duchesne, is, virtually, that the document was not a donation of territory, but a restoration of 'patrimonies' within the limits described. Lindner's view is that both Pippin and Charles from the beginning had set before themselves no other object than the satisfaction of the just claims ('justitiae') of the successors of St. Peter. True it was that by a sort of legal fiction, according to which St. Peter represented the 'respublica Romana,'

[1] In his monograph, 'Die sogenannten Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des Grossen und Ottos I. an die Päpste' (Stuttgart, 1896).

the territories of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, lately torn from the Empire by Aistulf, were looked upon as a sort of 'jacens hereditas' to which St. Peter was entitled, and so far Pippin's action had the result of conferring territorial sovereignty on the Pope. True also that the *Ducatus Romae* had by the force of circumstances, by the absenteeism of the Emperors, and the ever-present activity of the Popes, become in fact purely Papal territory. But as to all the rest of the lands and cities comprised within the boundary which started 'a Lunis,' all that, according to Lindner's view, Charles promised to Hadrian was that those 'patrimonies' which had once belonged to St. Peter and had been wrested from him by the Lombards should, on production of the necessary evidences of title, be restored to the Holy See. NOTE E.

The theory is a plausible one. One may even go further and say that in all likelihood it represents with sufficient exactness what actually took place in St. Peter's on the 6th of April, 774. What Charles probably intended to do was to confirm in the fullest manner possible the Pope's sway (as ruler) over the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, and the *Ducatus Romae*, and to recover for him the possession (as landlord) of the estates in the rest of Italy of which he had been robbed by the ravaging Lombards. But the question now before us is not what Charles promised, but what the Papal biographer represents him as having promised. And here it seems to me that Lindner's contention fails. How can his statement of the character of the donation be got out of the words in the Vita Hadriani? Not a mention there of 'patrimonia': a large and unrestricted grant of 'civitates et territoria': no distinction drawn between the Exarchate or Pentapolis and other parts of Italy, for instance Tuscia, which had been Lombard for centuries: full words of grant of 'provincias Venetiarum et Istriae et *cunctum* ducatum Spolitinum, seu [=et] Beneventanum.' Lindner battles bravely with this obvious difficulty, but if words are to have any meaning at all, these words cannot be taken in the limited sense which he would impose upon them.

It may be noted in passing that Abbé Duchesne, though fighting on the same side as Lindner in defence of the genuineness of the passage in question, entirely rejects the 'patrimonial' theory. He says 'Et ici je dois écarter l'idée que les régions

NOTE E. limitées par la frontière *a Lunis—Monte Silicis* soient indiquées, non comme concédées dans leur entier et avec les droits de souveraineté, mais comme contenant des patrimoines revendiqués par l'Église Romaine[1].' But this often happens in this strange discussion. The champions on the same side destroy one another's arguments. As Faulconbridge says in 'King John,'

'Austria and France shoot in each other's mouth.'

It may also be observed that Charles's promise, on Lindner's theory, would fall short of that which Hadrian had a right to expect. There was at least one large and important patrimony, that of the 'Alpes Cottiae,' situated north-west of the line traced by the donation[2]. If it were merely a question of the restitution of plundered estates, why should that not have been restored along with the others?

Let us pass to some of the arguments advanced by

B. The opposers of the genuineness of the donation.

(1) In the first place, we ought to notice the possibility that the donation, though literally genuine, was in fact a forgery, having been obtained from Charles by some trick such as a skilful notary might practise on an unlettered sovereign. This is certainly not impossible. The Roman Court would contain at that time some of the most practised scribes in Europe, whereas Charles, as we are told by Einhard[3], though he tried hard to learn the art of writing, never succeeded in doing so, having begun too late in life. And though we know that he was not altogether illiterate, but greatly delighted in such a book as St. Augustine's 'De Civitate Dei,' yet even this seems, from Einhard's account, to have been read to him at his meals, rather than by him in his library. But then Charles was not alone on this occasion, but was accompanied by all the great ecclesiastics as well as nobles of his realm, and it seems reasonable to suppose that among all of these there would be at any rate some one able and willing to detect any gross literary fraud practised upon his master.

Considerable stress has been laid on the mention of the name of Etherius, 'religiosus ac prudentissimus capellanus et notarius Caroli.' This is no doubt the same person as Itherius, abbot of St. Martin at Tours, who was sent in 770 to claim from

[1] Lib. Pont. i. ccxxxvii. [2] See vol. vi. pp. 324, 441. [3] Vita, c. 25.

Desiderius the return of the Papal patrimonies in Benevento on which he had laid hands [1], but all the theories founded on the personality of this man (some of them not very favourable to his loyalty to Charles) are mere baseless conjectures. NOTE E.

(2) It is suggested that the three chapters in the Vita Hadriani which record the donation are an interpolation of a later date into an authentic and contemporary document. We may take Dr. *Martens* as the advocate of this theory, which he has maintained with much earnestness and diligence in his monographs 'Die Römische Frage' (1881) and 'Beleuchtung der neuesten Controversen über die Römische Frage' (1898).

Dr. Martens assigns the forgery of all three documents, the Donation of Constantine, the Fragmentum Fantuzzianum, and the three chapters in the Vita Hadriani, to about the same time, somewhere in the pontificate of Hadrian. All the rest of the Vita he looks upon as genuine and trustworthy, nor does he attribute to the Pope any complicity with this fabrication, but he thinks that it was probably imagined by some Roman ecclesiastic during Hadrian's lifetime—perhaps about 780 or 781—and then after his death was tacked on by him to the genuine Life (of which I suppose Martens considers the later chapters to have been at the same time suppressed). He thinks that this forger used for his purpose the slightly earlier Fragmentum Fantuzzianum, and built his romance upon it. His secret intention was to express his disappointment that Charles had so meagrely fulfilled the hopes of a great extension of the Papal dominion which had been founded on his anticipated victory over the Lombards. For this purpose, with malicious subtlety the author sketches the Frankish king in that attitude which the Roman clergy would have liked him to assume in 774, knowing all the while that in actual fact things turned out very differently. Charles really played his part as 'Defensor Ecclesiae' very coldly, only granting that which was of most urgent need and which it was scarce possible to withhold. The Vita, on the other hand, offers us the lying statement that Charles 'propriâ voluntate, bono ac libenti animo' bound himself by an utterly exorbitant promise, and swore a fearful oath for its fulfilment. As neither the Life of Hadrian I nor that of Leo III contains any account of the redemption of this promise,

[1] See p. 319.

NOTE E. the king of the Franks stands before us in the pages of the Liber Pontificalis as a confessed oath-breaker. Thus to compromise the character of the great prince was the main object of the forger, but he may also have nourished a secret hope that some successor of Charles would deem himself bound to fulfil in its integrity the promise which here stood charged to the account of his ancestor.

(3) Such is the theory of Dr. Martens. Accepting, as I do, many of his arguments, I venture to go a little further and to suggest that the whole Life, as we have it, is the product of a slightly later age, and was composed in the hope, perhaps not a very confident hope, that the weak monarch who bore, not for nought, the title Louis the Pious, might be induced to acquiesce in its extravagant pretensions.

In this connection it seems to me an important fact that three times in the Vita Hadriani[1] (though not in the now disputed chapters), Charles's name is mentioned with the addition *Magnus*, which he did not usually bear in his lifetime, but which was generally used soon after his death[2].

On the other side, in favour of the contemporaneous character of the Vita Hadriani, may be quoted undoubtedly the great authority of Abbé Duchesne, who thinks that the first forty-four chapters (that is the whole historical part of the Life) were composed in this very year 774. 'It is enough,' he says, 'to read these pages with some knowledge of their historic environment, to feel oneself in the presence of an absolutely contemporary narrative. It was not in 795, twenty years after the disappearance of the Lombard dynasty, that a writer would have dwelt so minutely on the details of the negotiations with Desiderius, on the punishment of Afiarta and his partisans, on the political correspondence with Constantinople, on the negotiations of the Spoletans with the Pope, even on the journey of Charlemagne to Rome in 774. At the death of Hadrian, men were already far from this earlier period: important events had succeeded, amongst others, two journeys of Charlemagne to

[1] Capp. xxiii, xxix, and xxxvii.

[2] Simson (Jahrbücher, ii. 539) says, 'The epithet Great was never borne by Charles in his lifetime, at any rate officially. According to the Abbot Smaragdus . . . He at first received only the title of Prudent. But already in the first half of the ninth century the title of honour (Great) to which his deeds gave him such undoubted claim became universal.'

Rome in 781 and 787, which have left their marks on the Papal correspondence, on the monuments, on the constitution of the Roman state: certain courses had been taken, new ways of looking at things had become necessary: of all which we find no trace in the narrative before us. It represents well enough what might be written, what ought to be written in 774, not what would be written after the death of Hadrian [1].' NOTE E.

I can accept nearly all these statements of the eminent editor of the Liber Pontificalis, without accepting his conclusion that the *Vita Hadriani*, as we have it, is a contemporary document. Let me remind the reader of the extraordinary phenomenon which that work presents to us. Here we have a so-called life of the Pope which narrates with great minuteness the events of the first two years of his reign, which just leads up to the alleged donation by Charles, tells in a few lines the conquest of Pavia, and then is absolutely silent as to the last twenty years, most important years, of the same reign, giving us instead of history a most wearisome and diffuse catalogue of all the ecclesiastical rebuildings, and of all the articles of upholstery wherewith Hadrian enriched the Roman churches during his long pontificate. Surely there is something suspicious in this extreme loquacity as to two years and this utter silence as to the succeeding twenty. Whether there ever was or was not a life of Hadrian worthy of the name, must be I think a matter of conjecture [2]. As to this production which is now before us, it appears to me to be what the Germans call a *Tendenzschrift*, having for its object the assertion of certain preposterous claims for papal sovereignty over two-thirds of Italy. I suggest that it was composed during the reign of Louis the Pious, that the compiler copied certain genuine and contemporary documents with reference to the collapse of the party of Paulus Afiarta and the negotiations with Desiderius, tacked on to them his absolutely fictitious account of the donation of Charles (perhaps to some extent copied from the Fragmentum Fantuzzianum), and then left the remaining twenty years of Hadrian's pontificate undescribed, knowing that at every step of the real history he

[1] Duchesne, Introduction, ccxxxvi.

[2] I may suggest, however, the *possibility* that the life of Hadrian may have remained unwritten all through the pontificate of Leo III (795–816), on account of the bitter hostility between the partisans of the earlier and the later Pope.

NOTE E. would have been confronted with facts which proved the absurdity of his romance. To obtain the necessary length for his biography he has (like many other authors of the Papal lives but at greater length than they) ended that biography with the aforesaid catalogue of furniture, for which, very likely, trustworthy materials existed in the Papal *bureaux*[1].

We have thus three fictitious documents of great historical importance emanating from the Papal chancery or written in the Papal interest, during the hundred years between 750 and 850; possibly within a much shorter compass of time. They are the Donation of Constantine, the Donation of Pippin (Fragmentum Fantuzzianum), and the Donation of Charles (capp. xli–xliii of the Vita Hadriani).

One document of a slightly later date, the Privilegium of Louis the Pious addressed to Pope Paschal II in 817—a document which is now generally quoted as the *Ludovicianum*—after remaining long under a cloud of suspicion, has been of later years, chiefly by the exertions of two German scholars, Ficker and Sickel, rehabilitated as a genuine and trustworthy document. But this vindication of the Privilege of Louis does not help, but rather damages the alleged Donation by his father. For the Ludovicianum, though sufficiently generous towards the Popes, gives no more territory to them than is perfectly consistent with the course of historical events disclosed to us by the Codex Carolinus[1], and when it travels far afield beyond the limits of the three provinces (Exarchate, Pentapolis, and *Ducatus Romae*), it carefully introduces the word *patrimonia*. There is also a very distinct reservation of the Imperial supremacy over the duchies of Tuscany and Spoleto, accompanying the grant of certain revenues out of those provinces. Considering the characters of

[1] As bearing on this question I may notice the remarks of Malfatti (Imperatori e Papi, ii. pp. 63 and 73) as to the confused and inconsistent statements of the biographer with reference to the embassies between Desiderius and Hadrian in 772 and between Desiderius and Charles in 773. If we admit Malfatti's argument, we shall see that we are dealing with the work, not of an eye-witness, but of a later and compiling historian.

[2] It includes generally the *Ducatus Romae*, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, the Sabinense, and certain towns in Tuscany and Campania which were confessedly bestowed on Hadrian by Charles. Where Beneventum is mentioned it is expressly stated that it is only '*patrimonium* Beneventanum,' of which possession is secured to the Pope. The clause about the three islands, Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily, is admitted to be a later interpolation.

the men, it is almost inconceivable that the Popes would have accepted from the weak and pious son the limited grant of territories contained in the Ludovicianum if they had in their archives a document conferring far larger territories, bearing the signature of the strong and statesmanlike father. The Ludovicianum is therefore distinctly a witness against the Vita Hadriani. NOTE K.

There is no doubt, however, that in the course of the ninth century the fabrication had obtained extensive currency, being no doubt by that time fairly installed in the Liber Pontificalis. It is quoted in the False Decretals of Isidore, and it reappears in the *Ottonianum*, or 'Privilegium' granted to the Pope by the Emperor Otto I in 962.

After being in modern times generally discredited, the Caroline Donation has recently found some staunch and able defenders; but the qualifications and reservations, which even these authors have to make, show the extreme difficulty of the task which they have undertaken, and, at any rate in the judgment of the present writer, it is not probable that the cause which they have championed will finally prevail.

The whole discussion and the ever-expanding character of the Papal claims for territory at this period seem to be the best explanation of the forethought exhibited by the great Frankish ruler when he pinned down his Papal correspondents to certain positions by collecting their letters in the Codex Carolinus.

END OF VOL. VII.



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